

Libertarian Communist

July 1978

15p



ON THE WAGES FRONT So far, the unions in the labour movement may have done a good job in restraining the justified anger of the working class. On the other hand, one of the most significant trends in the last year or so has been the rise in the number of struggles for union recognition. Workers at Grunwick, Desoutter, Trust Houses Forte, Garmers Steak Houses and even Claridges have all fought for the right to join a trade union. These struggles are taking place in industries, such as those which are causing indignation where the workers are traditionally low-paid, and where the high proportion of the workforce is female or black. Many of these workers are now saying that they have had enough of being the most exploited section of the working class.

WOMEN RECLAIM THE NIGHT! Several hundred women marched through Soho last November as part of a nationwide demonstration with the exploitation of women as sexual objects. Taking to the streets at night in a challenge to male dominance, they denied the fear of molestation or rape, and spat on the image of women presented in the media. Together, women can be strong!

SCAPEGOATS. The working class of Moseley are being singled out for special treatment by the ruling class. Workers at Lucas and Speke have been told that they must work longer hours so that the industrial giants can set their ledgers straight. Faced with the inability of the bosses to pay to meet for their products, the workers at Lucas Aerospace and Leylands Speke have organised in self-help groups and have drawn up plans for the production of goods that are more socially useful.

THE NATIONAL FRONT during the last flurry of elections took over our schools and tried to keep ordinary people out of their "public places". They did. The reaction to these circumstances was often quite firm and some authorities were pressured into banning them. We must organise our groups and communities with organizations and in our local anti-racist and fascist cities, and in the ANL to keep the pressure up over the coming months.

CARRY
ON
THE
FIGHT
BACK!

Photos by Laurence Sparham and Andrew Ward (Report) and Angus Phillips (IFL)

Public Sector

NUT MUST TRY HARDER



for rate increase. The Communist Party is fighting for a "restoration of differences".

This would mean that classroom teachers would get 9.8% and senior staff 10.2% and H.M.T. 9.5%. The STA believes along with the rest of the Left that a flat rate claim would unite all teachers. A percentage claim, seen from its divisive nature, provides an easy out for the Executive in that they could always argue that it divide internally so that some teachers would, at the expense of others, get more than 10%.

Racialism

The National Front are organising a National Youth Section. So far, it's the case that the media have given an interest-free treatment to the organisation. 'Spot a Red Teacher' leaflets have so far appeared in only a few schools.

An national level the NUT has confined itself to "fighting" for a multicultural curriculum. Ex-Confederation member Max Morris led the right win's successful fight not to affiliate the union to the TUC's motion on racism at last year's NULF Conference. However,

The fight

IN COMMON with other breeders in the community, Hull teachers have faced cuts during cuts in the education budget in the last two years.

November 1976 - The Labour administration of the city proposed £2 million cuts for 1977-8 with a "promise" of £1 million to follow.

December 1976 - We were then threatened with the loss of 287 jobs. Although there was some concern about the cuts going ahead in

November, teachers were not really aware of full implications. Many had been told that with such cuts there was plenty of "fat" which could be trimmed off the education budget, nothing being wasted - of course not caused by themselves.

Indeed there had previously been a close fought battle between the NUT and the Humberites who should negotiate over the cuts, which many seemed like discussing the relative merits of hanging or shooting with a gun.

Hull teachers voted against negotiation, but Humberites teachers as well as those from the nearby rural areas, voted in favour. These teachers were shocked by the sudden news that their jobs, which they were to lose, had begun to wonder just where their negotiating had got them.

Humberite NUT vowed to impose the three day no cover sanction (which means that we would refuse to look after an absent teacher's classes three consecutive days).

No cover

We were backed by the National "Action" Committee of the NUT, which had been, and still is, in the grave of so much militancy.

We were all set to go ahead (and indeed the NAS/LUL had already started to close schools) when (surprise, surprise), the "inevitable" staffing cuts were suddenly dissolved, the money found, and the £2 million cuts were reduced to £1½ million.

However this was not the victory

AT THE moment there is a slight pause in the ideological battle that has been waged in education since the last strike. It is so. This is due to the slight but perceptible lull that has occurred in other areas such as the struggle over cuts and wages.

The Tyndale teachers have finally lost their fight to be reinstated by the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA). The Industrial Tribunal where they recently lost was the final body of appeal that they could turn to. However, the Tyndale teacher, the LEA official who resigned over the case, offered his support to the teachers over the cuts and wages.

In the context of progressive methods, their sacking can only be described as a massive defeat. All those who were concerned to stave off the right wing attempts to stave off the right wing attempts by St John Stevens and Rhodes Boys' Schools imposed restrictions on what is taught.

That these restrictions, and as far as possible disciplining, the elimination of mixed-ability groups, the narrowing down of choice in curriculum and so on, go hand in hand with the right wing's desire for education cuts is indisputable.

Obviously the Tyndale teachers are only one of a number of working-class orientated teachers concerned to fight for positive discrimination in favour of working-class children. There are many lessons to be learnt from the STA's underrating of the right-wing.

The first is the Cuts.

First, the term progressive is a catch-all phrase. Because of the vagueness of the Left over where education should be going it has become a catch-all phrase for the right-wing. It represents long-haired lazy revolutionaries, shouting in voices of rage, children wearing hats, whilst being out on strike! To protest that this ugly caricature is untrue is not

enough, as the Tyndale teachers found out.

What is needed is a coherent strategy for working-class education to :buff the Black Paperites' arguments. It wasn't there. However

to realise their mistakes and the Social Teachers' Alliance (STA) has organised the first National Conference of Teachers Against Cuts. Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can

strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first

and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can

strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first

and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can

strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first

and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can

strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first

and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can

strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first

and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can

strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first

and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can

strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first

and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can

strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first

and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can

strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first

and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can

strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first

and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can

strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first

and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can

strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first

and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can

strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first

and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can

strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first

and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can

strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first

and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

The STA is fighting for a £1000

Executive and the ILEA, or until the LEA makes cuts so that it is more in line with the cuts imposed by the other LEAs.

This disastrous attitude is entirely due to the Executive's social democratic leadership - the "new left".

Thatcher it would be worst! They have no conception of working with united fight against all cuts in social services. They refuse to let any enlightened members (united they belong to the TUC) join the NULF (Sector) officially organising such action at grass roots level. The irony is that they are the ones who are doing

those hardly get off its arse and can

strike action (as in Oxfordshire) it will.

The fight for Public Sector

Alliances has been conducted mainly by teachers i.e. in East London. The STA has been one of them making use of the resources that a union like the NULF has to offer. They have given them when, finally, the Defence Campaign was underway.

There is a strong Trades Council, it is wise it make demands on this first

and if they are rejected, then use it as a spur for a separate alliance.

Public Sector

BUILD A PUBLIC SECTOR ALLIANCE

Public services in this country are under vicious attack from the ruling class. Services are being turned even from the "Social Way" into the paying off of government debts and the provision of grants to industry.

It is working class people who feel the effects of this process, both as users of the services and as workers in the public sector.

Unfortunately, public sector workers who attempt to protect either their living standards or a level of service are subjected to the most hypocritical abuse by those in power.

With the need for industrial action in the support of the wider labour movement for this process end its implications, however, public sector workers have contributed to the achievement of difficult and courageous victories when their action does not immediately affect the employers profits.

The realisation of the common interests of the working class end of how the current crisis is an attack on the working class people and provides a base for the unity and solidarity necessary for successful resistance.

Our victory will not be built easily. Nor will it be the result of any single, simple process. Two elements will however be of great importance. First, the growth of unified action amongst public sector workers themselves, and their drawing the workers for any inconvenience or suffering associated with the public sector as a whole. Second,

events have moved faster than Morris and teachers are finding that they are going to have to affiliate to local anti-racist committees to counter this trend.

In London all the left groups have got together to form the "All London Teachers Against Racism and Fascism" group. They plan to

hold a mass rally of teachers in Central Hall on the evening of March 16th. STA members are arguing that after the rally an ongoing national organisation should be formed.

This article is not complete, even as a simple introduction to the present situation. The important

issue of democracy in the unions and the struggle for women's rights in teaching have not been mentioned. However, *Liberian Communist* does hope to cover these future issues in the pages of *Yours*. Your contributions on this subject are welcome.

kids, and thus taking responsibility for what went on, entitled you to a meal, although most teachers did some other sort of dinner duty. Government has now decided to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals. Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

However, again, just before the action was to start, Huddersfield NUT, involved with the National Education Union, invoked the Collective Disputes Procedure, which meant that the whole issue went to Arbitration, and most teachers were given a pay rise. It was... except that they took another 10% of our capitulation until



Progress

The last time I wrote when the Tories swerved to power in April 1979, although Hull remained solidly Labour. When announcing their estimates in 1978-9 they very proudly said that they would be pleased as punch as they were going along with Labour Government guidelines on cuts.

But of course the Labour councillors suddenly realised how disastrous this really was, and spoke with fiery eloquence against them. We would, however, have been more impressed if they'd said the same when in power!

So the figure of £2 million is being believed. Staffing cuts are to start, the Arbitration Committee on dinners has proposed that each school be asked to make cuts (and we shall lose the 10% capitation!) and the Education Secretary and the Action Committee for permission to implement the Union's class size guidelines. This means that some schools teachers will refuse to take over-sized classes (and to hold half day classes in areas which want them).

But tomorrow's news will be frighteningly familiar.

" Didn't we fight this battle last year too?

" Didn't we win?

" Didn't we go back to teaching classes of 60 with slates in their hands?

" Didn't we once hear something about progress?

HULL SOCIALIST TEACHERS

THE GROUP started in 1971 as a Rank and File group, and built up a good deal of support locally.

After the 1972 election, in agreement with the policies of Rank and File, particularly the lack of democracy, we changed our name in 1975 to Hull Socialist Teachers Group, and were active in the formation of the Socialist Teachers Alliance.

A number of us regularly

attended our meetings where we plan future action and tactics, and have been instrumental in actively supporting us at Union meetings, and rely on us for initiatives such as proposed motions.

These motions reflect the spectrum of political views within the group, including non-aligned socialists, Left Socialists and Libertarian Communities.

We have been very successful at winning support from other unions.

We have, for example passed strong motions on Chile, racism, the Women's Charter, and salario unitario. These motions have helped to initiate most of the action that the Union has taken locally for the last two years.

We have also played a very active role in the STA, both regionally and nationally, in their particular needs, and the battle for teachers' rights.

Many Local Associations (four equivalent to branch) decided to remain neutral in the STA, but the Committee has decided to remain affiliated to STA.

We have organised a very successful regional conference around the Tyndale issue in 1977 which extracted quite a few tasks for those who had not previously been involved in the STA.

Since so few new teachers are employed expanding the group is not easy. We have decided to hold regular meetings on wider educational issues in the hope of drawing more teachers towards socialist politics and union activity so that we can continue to be an effective force locally and nationally.

JOINT ACTION

A HULL Public Sector Action Committee was set up in 1977 on the initiative of members of the Socialist Teachers Group, and with the support of the STA.

We started by approaching representatives of NALGO and CONSE, and invited them to attend a preliminary meeting to gauge support. After this first meeting we decided to broaden the Joint Union Committee, and it was agreed, to include all the public sector unions, and invitations were sent out to all the unions.

We were very disappointed at the lack of response from other unions. CONSE have turned up occasionally, but the committee has really been left together to do the work. So although meetings have been useful in comparing experiences and monitoring the cuts we have not had the resources to organise full scale campaigns against the cuts.

against cutbacks

which it might appear, since we had for this generosity in staffing we had to do away with the school meals, which is money used to buy virtually everything used in schools, from books to paper.

Unfortunately many teachers were so relieved to have saved the jobs that they did not, and still do not, see the disastrous implications for an education service limping on with even more inadequate resources.

More and more children now have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able to claim free meals, often a very humiliating and complex procedure.

It would be nice to knock another nail in the coffin by demanding that only 33% of teachers in each school should receive a "free" school meal.

More and more children have to share books, and are not allowed to take them home — original and exciting reading is being stifled by lack of money.

But then the battle was far

from over. The next line of attack

was on our school meals.

Most teachers believe that the Government's intention is to destroy the school meals service, by raising the prices to a level which few can really afford. This means that more and more people will be able

Editorial

Workers' democracy - no substitutes!

A class in the widest sense is a group defined by the fact that its members share specific selected characteristics. The importance of any particular classification depends upon the extent to which the selected or observed characteristics determine the existence of life or the way of living of the individuals concerned.

You could, for instance, talk about a class of red-headed people. This classification would not be very important, however, because having red hair does not affect the development of the individuals concerned very much compared with other factors. If, on the other hand, the characteristics chosen for purposes of classification should be "one-legged people", then the individuals concerned would be more surely influenced in their living and in a common way, by this common feature.

The more a classification is based on characteristics which fundamentally determines their experience of life or their way of living, the more do we say that the class concerned needs which can be defined in common. It is impossible to sensibly complete the sentence: "Red-haired people live in..." in a manner distinguishing the red heads from people with any other colour of hair. We must conclude that "One-legged people need..."

Politics is concerned with the characteristics and needs of individuals and groups in society. In this era, the important characteristics are those relating to different roles in the social

Libertarian Communist

Libertarian Communist Group. Because of our shortage of both human and financial resources it is necessary to restrict the paper to a bimonthly appearance.

The Libertarian Communist to provide information and analysis to militants. We hope to provoke political debate amongst those sympathetic to our aims and to assist the growth of movement in this country, and we hope from this to evoke a more precise libertarian communist movement.

This project needs ideas and information. It requires a much wider involvement of libertarian militants than has been necessary up to now and that of discussion and analytical pieces. We believe that an emphasis on theory is necessary in order to assist the growth of the libertarian movement in this country, but in addition theoretical development cannot take place in the absence of concrete struggles. Please contact the address below if you wish to be involved.

OUR AIMS

1) We advocate the replacement of the capitalist market economy by a planned economy developed by the working class according to their own needs through united and democratic organs or workers self-government.

2) We affirm that in fighting for such a solution no revolutionary organisation should seek to carry out a seizure of power independent of the working-class democratic organs of the working class.

3) As part of the process, however, we believe in being

organisation of labour, to different shares in the social product and to differences in ability to influence the relations between us and external classes and societies. For us, the two latter areas flow out of the first, which makes this the key and of classification.

In capitalism as type of social organisation of labour, the working class is controlled by the dependence of the individuals in it upon the unequal exchange of the capitalist mode of production for wages. We are propertyless, whilst property stands in relation to us and individualism is forced to probe into its operation and consequences that we can hold to construct an alternative mode of production.

At a time when officialism is mainly living itself off the fat of declining real incomes, cuts in social services, unemployment, inflation, and so on, and so on, encroachments on shop agreements and so forth (on top of its general unsatisfactory production arrangement), there is inevitable discontent with the existing arrangements in the field of industrial relations there are signs of conflict and even revolution.

In this, this class collaborationists and reformists, in this class

where-as at Grunwick-their

propagandists—the leadership of the Labour Party and of the trade unions,

what about our activity as a group? An organisation does not stand or fall only on the basis of its ideas. It would be easy for us, as a small group, to devote our energies to keeping alive a tradition of libertarianism, to continue to continually question our ideas, test them in action, in order to avoid degeneration into sectarianism.

That is why we are interested in the Socialist Party of Great Britain, or the Anarchy collective, all isolated from the struggles of the working class.

That is as vital as theory. No revolution, any organisation should be involved in one without the other. Our members are involved in a range of activities, for example, education, in anti-racist activities, in work in trade unions, women's groups, cuts campaigns, and in Socialist Girls.

Contact us if you want to give us your support, your views, comments, and criticisms.

LGC, 27 Gerkewell Close, London E1.

covertly, political and democratic.

On other occasions, the crucial factor is the condition of the mobilisation of the wider labour movement, in support of the workers' demands. This, alongside APEX's particular concern to same, has been a major factor in the Grunwick dispute. December the UPW activists were given a total of £1,400 for their action in boycotting Grunwick—most FBU members were to take a traditional "Unite is Strength" all gas and no 10%.

Despite other unions having 10% pay rises, the TUC, going to the pay "guidelines", the FBU found no other union willing to take a 10% cut in pay on the issue. Mind you, its own leaders didn't exactly wear themselves out



Unionisation in its existing industry has been a major factor of past years. Official union 'backing' has gained many a respite or that. Trade Unions, though, such as those at Trojan House Forte and GKN, yet, the union establishment always seeks to smother the actions of its new members, and in the recent Clarendon conflict ensured that the sacked chief Richard Ridge was 'brought back' to work. The workers' movement, exposing the positions of the unions, could be brought before the world.

loping for it.

This lack of consistency of the unions' leadership amounts to more than a source of personal inadequacies. The class collaborationists have a conscious political desire to restrain the working-class struggle, the restraining of mass struggles, the allowing, in the final analysis, of capital to dominate the world, a kind of flesh off the working class. They appear like broken fighters because they are not prepared to make the laps necessary to secure victory.

Frightened of the possibility that a workers' movement will mobilise an army or the wider labour movement will become a threat to capital, they are afraid and clear precedents for the organisation of struggle. They are frightened of the power of the organised working class.

Socialists have been lost because the union leadership refused to throw the full weight of the union behind the strike. They are irresponsible and destructive to the working-class struggle. They do not understand that the working-class struggle can be for the workers' benefit; even change itself into socialism.

Theoretical understanding has been covertly behind the labour movement's leadership. The workers' struggle, though, is overtly behind the policies which sections of the leadership have adopted. The workers' struggle in the past, which has now been secured as a matter of course rather than policy, and the 12 month strike.

History

Our criticism of such politics is that they do not draw inspiration from the actual condition of the workers, that this is why their adversaries consequently oppose the workers' struggle.

On other occasions, the crucial factor is the condition of the mobilisation of the wider labour movement, in support of the workers' demands. This, alongside APEX's particular concern to same, has been a major factor in the Grunwick dispute. December the UPW activists were given a total of £1,400 for their action in boycotting Grunwick—most FBU members were to take a traditional "Unite is Strength" all gas and no 10%.

Despite other unions having 10% pay rises, the TUC, going to the pay "guidelines", the FBU found no other union willing to take a 10% cut in pay on the issue. Mind you, its own leaders didn't exactly wear themselves out

Editorial

which new beginnings erode out of the shadow of the past. Our task here, in the degeneration and failure of the Chartists and of the co-operative workers movement, together with the decay of the remnants of the libertarian traditions of the 1848 revolutions, seemed to indicate a grim fact for the most gaudily optimistic of us.

On the other, despite its share of hard fought trade disputes and despite the narrowness of its political horizons, this decade was one in which the general conditions of workers was beginning to show some signs of increased prosperity.

This was particularly the case for the new cohorts of engineers and skilled technicians, together with the workers in the construction trades, formed the basis for a new working class leadership. This leadership which both found the confidence of the workers at trade union level, and which was absorbed to a certain degree by the bourgeois economists to produce a new form of double class collaborationist current in their workers movement. The social revolutionary pretensions of a previous period of dual political movements tended to become eclipsed by a less ambitious species of reformism, reflecting the real development of trade, welfare, and educational organisations.

The decline in the working class collaborationist period was the beginning of a dominance—or, at least, decisive influence—which has lasted to the present day. In periods, such as during the pre-World War I syndicalist movement, class collaborationism was again prominent. This point is, however, that it has held out.

Developments

British workers, living in a metropolitan country, have repeatedly made material improvements in their lifetimes, even if they have not been fully known, sturdy, hardship and war. The firm birthpangs of the world revolution in underground Britain, however, to a certain extent the response of its leadership, has meant that in terms of political development, the movement has been judged by many not to match up to the standards of the capitalist heartlands.

From the emergence of a working class leadership of a class collaborationist nature, it has itself had a certain influence on the development of struggle and hence of class consciousness, a circumscribed response to the international development of the labour movement—its partly a response to the view of workers' leaders as being "responsible" representatives of the working class in the councils of the material perks.

The one important difference between the politics of class collaboration and those of socialism is that we understand capitalism as being inherently剥削的, gradually adapting its subjection to those market forces and imperatives of capital accumulation which define its essential contours. Our condition even in times of boom thus remains such that exploitation, misery, exploitation, alienation and oppression are parts of social organisation which can only be remedied by the overthrow of the capitalist productive relations. Of course, metropolitan capitalism has brought us a great deal, but how long will it be able to do this in the face of the revolt of those it milks? How long will it be able to do this in other countries? And how will it protect itself, or recover it, from its recessional crises except off the backs of workers?

The final decision on the viability or otherwise of class collaboration rests with the working class—if not as a conscious social generalisation,

then in terms of relations to life and work in general. Our task here meanwhile, is to make clear that the actions of the present labour movement, together with its political support for capital raise the issue of their class collaborationist base.

We believe that the side of opposition to this leadership to be based clearly on-class struggle.

Policies

It is from this position that we advocate our policies and our alternatives for the fighting of disputes. We stand for wage increases, for minimum clauses to beat inflation (according to working class calculation of the trade unions).

1) Union election officials to be elected on a mandatary and responsible basis.

2) Full time officers and employees to be paid the average rate of their industry.

3) All members to be given the right to receive automatic accreditation from their union and only to be removable by the members who elected them.

4) All members to be appointed.

5) All elections held at workplace meetings open to all relevant workers.

strength of the labour movement in support of workers in dispute, and for the development of "rank and file" organisations to press for this kind of policy. We stand for political support for capital raise the issue of the solidarity action independence of the bureaucrats when they stall and refuse to act.

Finally, we fight for the trade unions to adopt policies which would make them truly collective organisations and rob the class collaborationists of their bureaucratic hold, stimulating the growth in strength of the working class of the political personality of the proletariat. Thus, in May 1977, our organisation issued its political guidelines for such a reform of the trade unions:

1) Union election officials to be elected on a mandatary and responsible basis.

2) Full time officers and employees to be paid the average rate of their industry.

3) All members to be given the right to receive automatic accreditation from their union and only to be removable by the members who elected them.

4) All members to be appointed.

5) All elections held at workplace meetings open to all relevant workers.

collective leadership elected under mandate;

6) Assertion of the right to hold meetings in paid work time;

7) All democratically called strikes to be immediately recognised and to receive national support;

8) No ban on proscriptions to be permitted against members of any organisation except those which are fascistic or racist;

9) All democratically called strikes to be immediately recognised and to receive national support;

10) Full union rights for the unemployed in branches engaged in temporary or permanent type of employment.

There should be no fragmentation of the working class in the labour movement. Other organisational proposals are as follows:

1) Council centred union organs should be encouraged to supersede the authority of that of the TUC!

2) Union branches to be autonomous in the allocation of resources and wages, and in their campaigns and negotiations.

3) Union branches to be responsible to their members.

4) All efforts to receive automatic accreditation from their union and only to be removable by the members who elected them.

5) All members to be appointed.

6) All elections held at workplace meetings open to all relevant workers.

Editorial Board

Letters

Racism

Congratulations on the appearance of your paper. There has been a need for a paper like this for a long time. I am very pleased to see your understanding to issues facing immigrants in the struggle and which developments are taking place. Your article on the health service were a good example of the former and the discussion on racism was a good example of the latter. I was disappointed by the poor coverage of the movement of Black people in Britain. I am sure that you will be doing more to redress this situation.

The main obstacle to anti-racist

work has been the lack of national organisations and local anti-racist committees. Recently, however, a national group has emerged, called the Anti-Nazi League. This falls into the danger I mentioned earlier of creating a separate structure for fighting racism. The tasks of socialists in the racial divisions within the working class is to win the working class over to the struggle against racism and for support for autonomous ethnic groups fighting it. One of the best examples of this is the campaign against Nazism every Martin Webster moves. It means patient, persistent and determined work in the community and in the unions to expose racism in whatever form and to involve workers round by an anti-racist programme.

The main obstacle to anti-racist

and the appropriate analyses mode.

This emphasis would seem to call for a greater commitment to actual奴役, rather than racialism. For example, that six out of eight of all photographs, supplement, were of demonstrators, etc., etc. that is, I feel sure that because of the relevance to working-class experience, it would be better to increase your readership in this area.

One last thought, in view of my reading of your paper, I would like to consider the possibility of the name of your newspaper—Libertarian Communist—to be appropriate?

Yours faithfully

M. Ward

The comrades letter is very welcome,

as it raises a number of important questions about party organisation.

Essentially what kind of paper are we trying to produce and for what kind of readership? Unfortunately, the comrades letter does not seem to come in two parts, because there is such a difference between what we

are aware, is however, not insurmountable.

The frustration and anger which

should not prove too difficult to tap the frustration and anger which attend life in a capitalist society.

May I make a small contribution towards this?

I would like to suggest that your newspaper should be a broadsheet,

it should be less abstract and more specific.

For example, every day men and women are killed in the pursuit of profit. A left-wing newspaper should, in my opinion, report on these deaths in the appropriate contexts with the economic system. The spirit of capitalism, of course, invades every aspect of our lives, not just work, and its effects should be commented upon.

The people who produce this paper are undoubtedly

one of the most super-exploited sections of the working-class. They spend long hours writing, laying

out, selling, and doing bloody things, and don't even get paid for it.

We don't mind that so much, after all we are

committed.

The point is that we are still running a loss, and we are still paying the cost of typesetting and printing remains very high.

In the long term we hope to expand our production, to sell more copies and to sell more copies of the paper more frequently.

In the short term we hope to help the paper

get the names of the people to sell. Also, you could

ask for us, among us your news, news and reviews.

(Socialist Worker, Big Flame) have published Hitler's own observation to this effect. Apart from the obvious racism of Hitler, he also had the idea of being a socialist theoretician. However, a national group has,

emerged, called the Anti-Nazi League. This falls into the danger I mentioned earlier of creating a separate structure for fighting racism.

That is, I feel sure that because of the

racism of the ruling class. Class politics is thrown out of the window. The main problem is that the differentiations

of the socialist inside the ANL from the rest is their militancy. There is a

danger that the ANL will turn into

socialists that you can physically

destroy fascism. Some papers

are doing as this moment, and what we would like to be doing.

At the moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

Of course in the future we hope to come out more often. Then we can struggle and come out frequently enough never to be irrelevant.

we are doing as this moment, and what we would like to be doing.

At the moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

On one hand our reader is wrong.

On the other hand our reader is wrong.

As this moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

Of course in the future we hope to come out more often. Then we can struggle and come out frequently enough never to be irrelevant.

we are doing as this moment, and what we would like to be doing.

At the moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

On one hand our reader is wrong.

On the other hand our reader is wrong.

As this moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

Of course in the future we hope to come out more often. Then we can struggle and come out frequently enough never to be irrelevant.

we are doing as this moment, and what we would like to be doing.

At the moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

On one hand our reader is wrong.

On the other hand our reader is wrong.

As this moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

Of course in the future we hope to come out more often. Then we can struggle and come out frequently enough never to be irrelevant.

we are doing as this moment, and what we would like to be doing.

At the moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

On one hand our reader is wrong.

On the other hand our reader is wrong.

As this moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

Of course in the future we hope to come out more often. Then we can struggle and come out frequently enough never to be irrelevant.

we are doing as this moment, and what we would like to be doing.

At the moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

On one hand our reader is wrong.

On the other hand our reader is wrong.

As this moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

Of course in the future we hope to come out more often. Then we can struggle and come out frequently enough never to be irrelevant.

we are doing as this moment, and what we would like to be doing.

At the moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

On one hand our reader is wrong.

On the other hand our reader is wrong.

As this moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

Of course in the future we hope to come out more often. Then we can struggle and come out frequently enough never to be irrelevant.

we are doing as this moment, and what we would like to be doing.

At the moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

On one hand our reader is wrong.

On the other hand our reader is wrong.

As this moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

Of course in the future we hope to come out more often. Then we can struggle and come out frequently enough never to be irrelevant.

we are doing as this moment, and what we would like to be doing.

At the moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

On one hand our reader is wrong.

On the other hand our reader is wrong.

As this moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

Of course in the future we hope to come out more often. Then we can struggle and come out frequently enough never to be irrelevant.

we are doing as this moment, and what we would like to be doing.

At the moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

On one hand our reader is wrong.

On the other hand our reader is wrong.

As this moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

Of course in the future we hope to come out more often. Then we can struggle and come out frequently enough never to be irrelevant.

we are doing as this moment, and what we would like to be doing.

At the moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

On one hand our reader is wrong.

On the other hand our reader is wrong.

As this moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

have too many agitational articles or too much coverage of struggles, for example, the miners strike. We can't quickly, and we can't sell all the copies we print. Also we are a small organisation, and we are not able to attract a current of opinion around us. The

libertarian tradition in Britain has not been strong enough to sustain it, at least because of its reticence to face up to the need to justify its actions at a theoretical level. At this time an emphasis on theory is needed.

Of course in the future we hope to come out more often. Then we can struggle and come out frequently enough never to be irrelevant.

we are doing as this moment, and what we would like to be doing.

At the moment we are producing the paper, and the rest of the work.

This means that we feel we cannot

International



The most important political developments in 1978 are taking place in Africa. With the rapid intensification of armed struggle in Zimbabwe and South Africa, and the possibility of majority rule in Zimbabwe before the year ends, the Week of Action against apartheid and other moves to build workers action against the white dictatorships in Africa have a special significance.

LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST surveys the development of apartheid in South Africa.

PRODUCTION in South Africa today has many features which characterise it as Capitalist. Companies, which are often part of international groups, or are closely linked with them, employ wage labour and judge their success by the way in which they make on their investments.

Work and the human soul are under third rate capitalism.

Capitalist development in the area, however, has always been given a particular character by its links with colonialism. Even though the colour of white is a member of the capitalist ruling class, no blacks whatever their economic status, are seen as anything but slaves, or exercise authority over them.

In recent years there has been development at a number of black party meetings and administrative staff in some sectors, but the operations of these individuals merely relate to particular interests. These include the whites who are white and which are subsidiary to the white dominating commanding heights of the economy.

The appearance of such individuals does not detract from the assessment that the impact of colonialism on the economy of Africa has been predominantly felt by the African population in terms of its being denied the right to self-determination, debilitating restrictions unknown to the developed proletariat of the metropolitan countries of the West, or to the working class of South Africa itself.

THE International Confederation of Free Trade Unions called for a week of action from March 13-21 against apartheid in South Africa. British opponents of apartheid have attempted to make our contribution to this week of action. We will and do support the actions of the TUC.

An emergency action Anti-Apartheid Movement conference on 14th Feb showed the strength of this campaign, but still left much in doubt. Delegates to the conference heard Laurence Daly pledge the full support of NUM. There was also a letter from the influential man Jack Dromey, Convenor of the TUC, supporting the campaign. Success, Jack Dromey revealed that the South East region of the TUC was urging all its Trades Councils to take up the issue, and Peter Nicolai threw the weight of the Leyland Trade Union Council behind it.

What are our pronouncements will lead to in practice remains to be seen—there is a world of difference between supporting a policy and fighting for it. Workers have seen the TUC support a statement at Grunwick, or that TUC opposition to the 10% rent meant for the Fire Brigades Union, will need more than a few positive statements from a handful of union leaders at a small gathering in London before the task is done.

Indeed, as a delegate from Preston Trades Council pointed out, blocking is a big thing to ask for, especially if you are asking for support from someone

differences between the approaches of the British administration and the Boers. The Boers from the start did not see any African class as being able to stand above their own. The British on the other hand did legislate for African titles. In relatively isolated areas like the Transvaal, most Africans were in a position to take up a British title, let alone understand the need to do so, if it came from a partisan British officialdom.

All over South Africa the result of European settlement was to drive the Africans off the land they needed to sustain their established patterns of production. Before the invasion they had been nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes, employing techniques of wide grazing and shifting cultivation. When they didn't have the techniques to use its full purpose, scant as it was, military force and land seizure were used to continue a continuing cycle of impoverishment of the African population.

The Boers did not immediately connect the impoverishment of the Africans with the continued invasion they had inflicted with resistance. A series of wars between the colonists and the Africans resulted, in which the Boers were the victors. The trade in slaves, those colonists who wanted to use non-European labour, was slaves, a majority of whom seem to have come from outside South Africa. After emancipation the descendants of the slaves formed the basis of a new working class.

It was mainly the development of export oriented wool farming in the first half of the 19th century that had opened the eyes of the colonists to the possibility of the rapid employment of African labour. By the 1850's there was being offered a new policy. In the build up to the war with the Zulu kingdom in 1879, for instance, the prospect was expressed by General Gordon that Zulu warriors would "be changed to labourers working

the land". This was to be achieved by establishing a common maximum wage for Africans. In 1896 this body established a minimum wage of £1 per day. In 1901, in order to expand recruitment. At the same time the mines saw the development for the first time of a significant white skilled workforce, originally classified as skilled, and on much higher wages.

Exploitation of gold brought with it funds for the building of a large army of South Africa. Conflict between the Boer farmers and the gold interest broke out in 1912, and led to the demand for a general resolution in the 1910 Act of Union.

The saving concern of interest of the camp represented in the mines, and of the white working class, was the realisation of their claim and increasing benefit from the growth of the mines.

Our analysis of the imperialist contradictions which made breaches of white supremacy, the Native Land Act, the Native Labour Laws, and the Land Act, from the perspective of available funds for the African and masses of land for an African to buy or rent from a white, 1924 saw the first "Industrial

Devellopment up to this point had, as it were, laid the basis for secondary apartheid. The rural self-sufficiency and organisation of the Africans had been destroyed and turned them back into a segregated wage labour force.

Contemporary apartheid, however, is more than just a forward projection from the situation as it was 50 years ago. If

for vagas"

It was in this period that taxes were introduced to force Africans to work for money. Cecil Rhodes delivered a "class" to the Cape Legislative Assembly on the subject of the Native Labour Laws as enthused, "remove them from that life of sloth and laziness, you will teach them the value of work, and they will contribute to the prosperity of the state and make them give some return to us for our public expenditure."

The turn to that of Africans as labourers was given a particularly important impulse and direction by the opening of the diamond and gold mining industry. It was this which first led to the introduction of metropolitan capital into the country in a big way.

Diamonds

Diamonds were the first mineral resource to be exploited, in the 1860s. They were a particularly important resource because they did not require large capital injections from the metropolitan stock exchanges. Although the diamond miners were Afrikaners for funds in his takeover of the Kimberley diamond fields, the diamond miners who emerged in greater numbers to dominate the enterprise in the field and the exploitation of the diamond fields to "foreign" buyers.

Diamond mining's contribution to the sucking in of metropolitan capital was that it created an on the spot entrepreneurial culture among the Afrikaner miners markets which gave the discovery of the Witwatersrand gold reefs in the 1880s. The diamond miners were the first to benefit from the offices of the diamond merchants in Matlock, Germany and Holland. Vladičat in the first place, who were able to raise the money needed by the more capital intensive gold industry. A.K. Carricross in 1889, for instance, invested £100,000 in 1893. Figures show that Britain had £30 million invested in South Africa in 1891. Much of this investment was in gold finds.

The mining brought new optimism to the colonists employing millions of Africans. In 1889 the mine owners combined in a "Chamber of Mines", which determined to establish a common maximum wage for Africans. In 1896 this body established a minimum wage of £1 per day. In 1901, in order to expand recruitment. At the same time the mines saw the development for the first time of a significant white skilled workforce, originally classified as skilled, and on much higher wages.

Exploitation of gold brought with it funds for the building of a large army of South Africa. Conflict between the Boer farmers and the gold interest broke out in 1912, and led to the demand for a general resolution in the 1910 Act of Union.

The saving concern of interest of the camp represented in the mines, and of the white working class, was the realisation of their claim and increasing benefit from the growth of the mines.

Our analysis of the imperialist contradictions which made breaches of white supremacy, the Native Land Act, the Native Labour Laws, and the Land Act, from the perspective of available funds for the African and masses of land for an African to buy or rent from a white, 1924 saw the first "Industrial

World support

THE International Confederation of Free Trade Unions called for a week of action from March 13-21 against apartheid in South Africa. British opponents of apartheid have attempted to make our contribution to this week of action. We will and do support the actions of the TUC.

Such developments are to be welcomed, as they support the development in the trade union movement of active solidarity with the African struggle. Our analysis of the imperialist contradictions which made breaches of white supremacy, the Native Land Act, the Native Labour Laws, and the Land Act, from the perspective of available funds for the African and masses of land for an African to buy or rent from a white, 1924 saw the first "Industrial

Devellopment up to this point had, as it were, laid the basis for secondary apartheid. The rural self-sufficiency and organisation of the Africans had been destroyed and turned them back into a segregated wage labour force.

International

represented a response to two developments: the breakaway of the African workers from the mining industry and the growth of capitalist industry outside the mining sector.

Concerning the first development of the mining industry in particular was the causal and migratory nature of much of the African labour force. The question is: should the Africans be allowed to enter "white" territory only if they were working? This was the main argument back to the issuing of frontier passes in the early nineteenth century cape colony. The "model" African worker got a permit and

like the proletariat elsewhere, has a right to work and to defend its exploitation. The proletariat possesses common needs, a common settlement, the ability to strike, etc. All these factors make the old tribal barriers have been broken down and above all a new capacity for struggle has been born.

It must be admitted, though, that much of job restriction in South Africa has developed in the way it has.

The three main aspects of apartheid's response to the miners are in its labour legislation, its "Bantustan" policy, and the preservation of its colonialist political

to Africans and whites. Section 17 of the 1856 Cape "Masters and Servants" Act forbids the banning of racial groups from jobs. Government Notice no. 1856 of Oct 25th 1951, for instance, prohibits the work of machinists, supervisors, cutters and table hands in the clothing industry.

It must be admitted, though, that much of job restriction in South Africa has

come about as a result of agreements between employers and the trade unions. One of the main results is the practice of re-grading jobs so that Africans doing them get less than whites.

"Workers Unity" again draws out implications of the Bantustans which are basically separated on a "tribal" basis, not only in the Bantustans, but also in the industrial areas. Thus, for instance, the same quarters already applies to the barracks and compounds for migrant workers. We will probably also find the limit to come out of the possibility of such factories be allocated to workers from one particular Bantustan only. When workers in a factory are restricted to one Bantustan the government will threaten to allocate jobs in the factory to another Bantustan. Right now, however, the fear of African workers will thus be encouraged."

As the Africans are forced to become citizens of Bantustans, the relevant magistrates rights will be increasingly abridged. The pass laws will be abolished and laws governing "alien" introduced. Already African migrant industrial workers have been deported to the Bantustans.

The executive machinery of apartheid is, of course, what gives the monopoly and brutal police repression. Colonial capitalism has throughout its history ruled upon the world for the ultimate agency of its development. The response of the authorities to the protests initiated by the students of Soweto 2 years ago and the vast majority of the South African workers are the most prominent modern examples of this.

In the last three years trade unions have died in detention. November 1976 saw the banning of 24 leading trade unions and their affiliated organizations, black and white. The terms of such banning orders, which last in most cases for 5 years, prohibit publication of the banned organizations' lists by more than one person, freedom of movement, etc. In short a cheap alternative to imprisonment.

In conclusion it is worth dwelling a moment on the condition of the Africans, created by all these laws. Let us first apologise for apartheid claim that if nothing else the Africans in South Africa are better off than those in the rest of Africa. Of course, even if this were the case it would hardly be relevant to the essential question of the division of social resources and authority.

Much of the evidence in fact contradicts such a ridiculous justification for the mass poverty of the majority of the Africans amongst vast riches. In terms of per capita income by dollar comparison, First, Steel and Gunnar Myrdal's "South African Connection" (p53), provide figures indicating higher incomes, in 1968, in several African states. According to Rogers in his "African Rule" the average income in the four largest Bantustans in 1974 was lower than the most plucky of the African states, except those, like the drought-stricken Sahel region, reduced to unrecognised distress.

It is not true, however, that income figures are a poor way of gauging living standards, but consideration of the things they lead out reflects even more badly on South Africa. The comparison of incomes of wholly urbanised with those who still have the use of some agricultural land, for example, shows that the former of those in a highly industrialised state like South Africa and those in other countries who have a more rural environment are agriculturally self-sufficient. The low incomes in the Bantustans might now indicate poverty if, for instance, they were agriculturally self-sufficient, but the noted barrenness which makes it so appealing a figure, and also explains the high degree of underdevelopment in such places.

The standard of life in general is



Soweto schools ds - August 1976. The riots were followed by a harsh repression.
Photo: Mayibune/Sanapic/Contrasto

then worked for a given period and then cleared off again.

As with the actual expropriation of land, the South African government and scholarship to uncover precisely the breakdown of this "reserve" based migrancy into settled agriculture on "white" rural land into urban areas. Increasing urbanisation of Africans is, however, one fact clearly reflected by government statistics. Between 1911 and 1952, 570,000 Africans (12.7% of the African population) were recorded as town dwellers. By 1960 this figure had risen to 1,246,000 (19.8%) and by 1971 to 2,290,000 (26.8%).

The growth of capitalist industry outside of the mining sector was the single most important factor behind this progressive urbanisation. South African industry, particularly the mining and the mining of metropolitan capital or the mining interests linked with it, though these are not the only ones, have spent from a few million rands interests such as ICI, Dunlop, Ford, General Motors, etc., and the majority of industrialists came from within South Africa itself but not from the mining magnates. African Nationalists began to organise the forces of surplus labour and industry. When in power the Nationalist Party pioneered the use of state monopoly to develop industries like the Iron and Steel Corporation in 1922, and to assist new native entrepreneurs.

The Boom

These efforts prepared the ground for a post war boom in the indigenous capitalist sector of the economy. It has been estimated that between 1946 and 1955 £700 million was invested in South Africa by foreign companies, mostly coming from Britain. Between 1956, when official figures first became available, and 1969, further £1,000 million was invested. The pattern continues today, with Britain still leading the field.

The African proletariat created by this second great colonial capitalist expansion,

despite the above legislation and practices, African workers have continued to organise in independent unions and engage in militant action. They have also continued to struggle for political and social rights generally.

Bantustans

The South African government and ruling class have attempted to smother these developments at a deeper level than by the labour legislation by introducing its Bantustan policy. The aim of this is to make every African a citizen not of South Africa but of one of the Bantustans. These places in no way have any historical link with the population ascribed to them, they lack the minerals and the good agricultural land of the country. They are contained in the white hands and make up about 1/8 of the surface area of the country (for of the population).

The January issue of "Workers Unity", paper of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, has this to say very well: "A Bantustan is like a padlock where the owner keeps his oxen until he needs them for ploughing. The African workers are the oxen. They are kept in the Bantustans, like the oxen of the bosses, until they are chosen for work in the cities. The bosses are the masters. They generally look after their cattle well."

I.G.

The Bantustans are intended to physically divide the African workers to facilitate greater control over them in the existing areas, and to create new low-wage industrial sites.

A government Department of Information pamphlet of 1968, "Taking Factorists to the People", if read the right way, reveals the true nature of the Bantustans. Some clarity. Talking about the process of modern industrialisation, the author comments: "The African worker comes from his own country and his own society ... and tended to turn him from a proud member of a Bantu nation into a cypher in an urban proletarian."

Some South African labour law actually applies the principle of discrimination in terms of the respective availability of jobs

Libertarian Communist

Special Supplement

10p



Socialism and
Democracy



Czechoslovakia 1968. Fifty years before, the Soviets and Factory Councils were a profoundly democratic aspect of the Russian Revolution, where for the first time the Russian peasants and workers took their future into their own hands. This soon degenerated; the mass organs were either brought under Bolshevik control or destroyed, and within the Party democracy was declared "luxury" and free debate banned. In Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia twelve years later, the workers had their backs to the wall and Soviet "democracy" was imposed at the end of a tank-helmet.

We all associate the idea of democracy with that of freedom. We all, or most of us, except that freedom should not be exercised for any individual, principally in so far as the actions of one person or group of persons may have a disastrous effect upon the circumstances of others. In short, if a person has a handsome profile, a democratic socialist is one attempting to ensure that there are guidelines for social involvement which embody guarantees of individual right neither entailing nor threatening the non-interference of others. It attempts to define a mean and an equilibrium amongst individuals as regards their intercourse with others and with the community as a whole.

It is customary to regard our own country as being an example of a democratic society. But how well does it really measure up to criteria such as those suggested? The majority of people probably think it does so reasonably well. They would like as not give the following reasons: that politically the unity of the state, upon the equality of all citizens. We have universal suffrage, free and regular elections to parliament, end more or less effective rights of free speech, association, end opposition. Secondly, there is equality before the law. And thirdly, economic based upon free contracts, made between individuals.

The communist situation is rather different. It is based according to Marx on a comprehensive and demanding program. We turn first towards considerations of our economic life, it is here that we find the most described "un democratic" attitude of the bourgeoisie. The slogan "Freedom of contract" really does mean very much, it is unreasonable in isolation from the other economic freedoms in isolation from the relations of property and production.

Even within the property relations there is a difference between the property owners and those who are not. Those are those of property and money, there is a difference from a bourgeois point of view that those without property cannot claim to have an independent basis for existence. This is a bourgeois property, because it is based on the right to work. They can exist only as proletarians to obtain means of existence they must exchange their labour with capital. Their relationship may become somewhat better

by charity and state benefits, but it represents the essential reality of contemporary life.

Socialism and Democracy

Since the final months of 'last year, the LCG has been giving cautious support to "Socialist Unity", an electoral alliance embracing "Big Flame", the "International Marxist Group", some of the smaller socialist organisations and a number of independent socialists. The appearance of such an initiative, alongside the simultaneous decision of the "Socialist Workers Party" to stand candidates in national government elections, must raise amongst wider audience many basic questions as to what exactly is the long-term political ambition of the "left wing extremists".

Does our standing for Parliament, for instance, mean that despite everything impudent to us we do in fact accept its ultimate sovereignty upon all questions, and are willing to abide by contemporary democratic conventions? Many people certainly associate communists not merely with anti-parliamentarianism but also with dictatorship. The case against us may be easily summarised: we are the people who would deny the rights of free speech and protest to organisations like the National Front; who support "unofficial" Tripartite Union actions; and whose political tradition is that which in many parts of the world has been founded solely for the rigidity of their political life and the suppression of all forms of

opposition. In every situation, it is said, the communists are on the lookout to put themselves over others by use of force. Where they can impose their opinion, they do not bother to argue it.

It is interestingly the case that communists debate on democracy in printed newspapers, books and journals than in our papers. Even when it does penetrate through to the public, it often in the knockabout form of "look what this or that government is doing to us" and rather than in terms of political practical analysis. Although *Libertarian Communism* is only the 4th Division of even the Left press in terms of circulation and regularity of appearance, we hope occasionally to complement the work of the more powerful papers by printing

article of a type we feel they should be publishing but are failing to do so. Now, therefore we take up this issue of communism and democracy. After all it is particularly important that we are clear about our views on it when in the electoral arena we shall be expected to present not simply our specific policies, but also our criticism of life and society in its entirety.

disposed over the creative forces of the world. The socialist party has a creative force to work on the co-operative basis of production that they have purchased, and established, through their own efforts.

relative bargaining strengths and of their eventual remuneration. But the "democratic" nature of capitalism does

not end with this.

Ideal

The ideal of democracy imagines deliberation among equals as the best basis for human affairs. Every individual participates equally in the determination of the community. The economic right of capitalism, or the other hand, embraces no such

with their labour capacity, the workers sell their potential for conscious collective control over their labour. On the one hand, they are bound over to the demands of the market system of the reproduction of capital, and become at worst mere factors in the domination of its accountancy; speed-up, fluctuating real wages, etc., too numerous, serve to obscure the real causes of the obstacles to go into here. On the other hand, work, though vastly more materially productive and remunerative than in previous periods, is still not a property of the workers as a complete expression of their humanity.

They lack the exercise of sober judgement over their own activity. Some live in bleak and depressing conditions at the same time as immense amounts of initiative, energy and metierials are poured into the emessing of a

seemingly endless cluster of comparatively trivial items—fame, fortune, luxury, ornaments, and prestige—cannot justify so much the more expensive gestures of the soul as it needs specific style made in order to be sold by the advertising wizards.

Deprivation

Is it possible that anyone would actually defend deprivation? If so, what would the programs of discrimination have put in question something which would be acted upon?

Deprivation exists alongside extremes of self-indulgence, insecurity, overwork and overstrain. It is the liberating might of modern industry that has shifted the balance in our lives between work, leisure, resources and need does not stand in any direct relationship to us but is rather determined through the often social reconfigurations of the exchange market and the

At this stage, nonsocialists who find the above convincing enough may at the same time feel a little chaste. "It's all very well," they may say, "but what about...?" The capitalist economy, with its emphasis on democracy and freedom and its tendency to reify people, that is, those living in the advanced capitalist countries at least, concentrate on the progress which has been made, and the social and political achievements associated with capitalism.¹

Such observations are valid indeed as it is indeed true that capitalism has in many ways of life brought tremendous benefits which no one in their right mind would want to reverse. But they are also, as we have experimentally judged not according to strictest criteria, but through the art of living.



Occupation at Massay Ferguson. Workers have almost no democratic rights over their everyday work – but workplace occupations pose collective power.
Photo: John Sturrock (Rex)

Itself. This point remains, however, that this living is not yet without its examples of dislocation and suffering, whilst they occur we shall be impelled to seek to arrest it. And in so doing, it quite legitimately sets expanding ideal objectives for itself. Some people develop out of a majority of the working class, others and their world an acute comprehension in general terms of the limitations of their calling. They are then compelled to proceed contented until one of them suddenly unexpectedly whoots out at them and they find themselves for the first time confronted by the cause and effect of their grievances.

Our estimation of the path of capitalist development, moreover, leads us to suspect it of bearing a structural incapacity when it comes to responding to itself satisfactorily, according to its own dynamics. Needs and aspirations repeatedly find a barrier, even working class aspirations as represented by economic and political crises, which are but the capitalist civilisations. Superficiality as providential as visitations of pestilence or

embracing class analysis and context. Proletarian workers, for instance, may understand the way in which their lives are controlled by the logic of the capitalist working class. They may rate the limits of their common expectations within capitalism, and if those limits are exceeded, they may be exposed to the mode of production also have the danger and hazards therein.

Democracy

Our surmise of the coming crisis attests democracy must ultimately involve us in dwelling upon how such a procedure for the circumstances in which they must take place on to us, however, we shall attempt to go a little more into the circumstances in which they must take place. We have seen the representation of capital, indicating some of the boundaries which its very structure gives to the most powerful of its instruments. To complete the picture we must next turn to examine some aspects of those

they have in general been dominated by individuals associated with the social power of capital, the social operation of capitalist modes of production, both internally and in its particular phases, give rise to social generalisations in the form of policies for states. Those same groups which enjoy opportunities and advantages arising from relating to the mode of production also have a special interest in understanding and operating the mode of production. The economic privileges they seek to protect give them a head start in the political sphere also.

The working class is not able to secure strong participation in education, capitalist democratic governments only in periods when there has been a degree of workers' control, and this is often on conditions of 'moderation' (i.e., class collaboration) in working class political demands.

In our opinion

this experience does not provide sufficient basis for us to presume that revolution will be brought about by capitalist would serve as an adequate arena for working class anti-capitalist tendencies. In our opinion there are two further reasons for this pessimism.

The first of these is that there is reason to believe that the ruling class will not easily be compelled to make significant changes to the extent of them being recognised as bearing a mandate for deep social reorientation.

The second reason is that the working class, of its own patterns of self-organisation outside of the existing formal political structures, does not have the capacity to possess no alternative institutions for decision making an aggregate of discrete actions which the business world can emerge as a distinct entity from capital, in the same way as the working class can build an aggregate line piecemeal. The rise of fascism in both Germany and Italy, for instance, took place during periods of crisis for capital particularly acute for these countries.

Imperialist revisions after the First World War. Despite its use of anti-capitalist rhetoric and imagery, fascism was not an absolute indicator of the history of the advanced capitalist democracies, nor an absolute indicator of their limitations.

Such a repeated pattern of political crisis offers us a testimony of how the combination of disengagement in the wider life of society with formal political equality results in the socially advanced planning of the capitalist political sphere. This has had important consequences for the range of social options presented within the capitalist political system. The debate and implementation of the needs of capital and within the lavish harvesting of its material benefits.

Such a repeated pattern of political crisis offers us a testimony of how the combination of disengagement in the wider life of society with formal political equality results in the socially advanced planning of the capitalist political sphere. This has had important consequences for the range of social options presented within the capitalist political system. The debate and implementation of the needs of capital and within the lavish harvesting of its material benefits.



Workers at the IMRO printing works in Normandy occupied their factory for nine months against closure until they were evicted by French police. They rejected the solution of running the factory as a workers' co-operative, seeing that as a solution this served the needs of capital. Instead they insisted on the right to remain in the factory. The factory was closed down under the Austerity Plan, of which the redundancies were a part.

Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

political structures we call democratic which have in some cases places existed in some of the advanced capitalist countries. It is parliamentary democracy. It is a democracy with oligarchy, which the prominent apologists of advanced capitalism regard as its zenith; and it is true that present political freedoms have fluctuated this claim being made by many others also. Isn't parliamentary democracy something through which the working class may express its desire, a critical rejection of capital?

The first characteristic of the advanced capitalist democracies that springs to our attention is that positions of power in

the point for the moment is that they manage it. What's more, it's a moment, in its course, it has made some of their background. It fostered social advance in the area of municipal housing and educational scholarships, legislated moderate improvements in the area of pension benefits, and instituted a few public works to assist the unemployed.

Our surmise of the coming crisis attests such as this indicates that the advanced capitalist state may plausibly serve the working class in any way in which it will be required?

Signal as the achievement of the early Labour Party undoubtedly was, it never presented itself as the spearhead of an anti-capitalist working class movement. It did nothing whilst in office to challenge the root causes of either unemployment or depression, the two main problems sought to redress.

Indeed, all governments, particularly diverse, have been the productive operation of capitalism, and this has meant that reformist governments like any others have responded to the needs of the working class rather than those shown by society, as the former are unexplained 'given' in society.

The working class is not able to secure strong participation in education, capitalist democratic governments only in periods when there has been a degree of workers' control, and this is often on conditions of 'moderation' (i.e., class collaboration) in working class political demands.

In our opinion this experience does not provide sufficient basis for us to presume that revolution will be brought about by capitalist would serve as an adequate arena for working class anti-capitalist tendencies. In our opinion there are two further reasons for this pessimism.

The first of these is that there is reason to believe that the ruling class will not easily be compelled to make significant changes to the extent of them being recognised as bearing a mandate for deep social reorientation.

The second reason is that the working class, of its own patterns of self-organisation outside of the existing formal political structures, does not have the capacity to possess no alternative institutions for decision making an aggregate of discrete actions which the business world can emerge as a distinct entity from capital, in the same way as the working class can build an aggregate line piecemeal. The rise of fascism in both Germany and Italy, for instance, took place during periods of crisis for capital particularly acute for these countries.

Imperialist revisions after the First World War. Despite its use of anti-capitalist rhetoric and imagery, fascism was not an absolute indicator of the history of the advanced capitalist democracies, nor an absolute indicator of their limitations.



Workers at the IMRO printing works in Normandy occupied their factory for nine months against closure until they were evicted by French police. They rejected the solution of running the factory as a workers' co-operative, seeing that as a solution this served the needs of capital. Instead they insisted on the right to remain in the factory. The factory was closed down under the Austerity Plan, of which the redundancies were a part.

Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

political structures we call democratic which have in some cases places existed in some of the advanced capitalist countries. It is parliamentary democracy. It is a democracy with oligarchy, which the prominent apologists of advanced capitalism regard as its zenith; and it is true that present political freedoms have fluctuated this claim being made by many others also. Isn't parliamentary democracy something through which the working class may express its desire, a critical rejection of capital?

The first characteristic of the advanced capitalist democracies that springs to our attention is that positions of power in

the point for the moment is that they manage it. What's more, it's a moment, in its course, it has made some of their background. It fostered social advance in the area of municipal housing and educational scholarships, legislated moderate improvements in the area of pension benefits, and instituted a few public works to assist the unemployed.

Our surmise of the coming crisis attests such as this indicates that the advanced capitalist state may plausibly serve the working class in any way in which it will be required?

Signal as the achievement of the early Labour Party undoubtedly was, it never presented itself as the spearhead of an anti-capitalist working class movement. It did nothing whilst in office to challenge the root causes of either unemployment or depression, the two main problems sought to redress.

Indeed, all governments, particularly diverse, have been the productive operation of capitalism, and this has meant that reformist governments like any others have responded to the needs of the working class rather than those shown by society, as the former are unexplained 'given' in society.

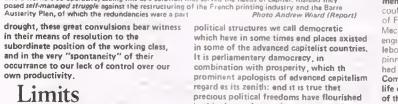
The working class is not able to secure strong participation in education, capitalist democratic governments only in periods when there has been a degree of workers' control, and this is often on conditions of 'moderation' (i.e., class collaboration) in working class political demands.

In our opinion this experience does not provide sufficient basis for us to presume that revolution will be brought about by capitalist would serve as an adequate arena for working class anti-capitalist tendencies. In our opinion there are two further reasons for this pessimism.

The first of these is that there is reason to believe that the ruling class will not easily be compelled to make significant changes to the extent of them being recognised as bearing a mandate for deep social reorientation.

The second reason is that the working class, of its own patterns of self-organisation outside of the existing formal political structures, does not have the capacity to possess no alternative institutions for decision making an aggregate of discrete actions which the business world can emerge as a distinct entity from capital, in the same way as the working class can build an aggregate line piecemeal. The rise of fascism in both Germany and Italy, for instance, took place during periods of crisis for capital particularly acute for these countries.

Imperialist revisions after the First World War. Despite its use of anti-capitalist rhetoric and imagery, fascism was not an absolute indicator of the history of the advanced capitalist democracies, nor an absolute indicator of their limitations.



Workers at the IMRO printing works in Normandy occupied their factory for nine months against closure until they were evicted by French police. They rejected the solution of running the factory as a workers' co-operative, seeing that as a solution this served the needs of capital. Instead they insisted on the right to remain in the factory. The factory was closed down under the Austerity Plan, of which the redundancies were a part.

Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

political structures we call democratic which have in some cases places existed in some of the advanced capitalist countries. It is parliamentary democracy. It is a democracy with oligarchy, which the prominent apologists of advanced capitalism regard as its zenith; and it is true that present political freedoms have fluctuated this claim being made by many others also. Isn't parliamentary democracy something through which the working class may express its desire, a critical rejection of capital?

The first characteristic of the advanced capitalist democracies that springs to our attention is that positions of power in

the point for the moment is that they manage it. What's more, it's a moment, in its course, it has made some of their background. It fostered social advance in the area of municipal housing and educational scholarships, legislated moderate improvements in the area of pension benefits, and instituted a few public works to assist the unemployed.

Our surmise of the coming crisis attests such as this indicates that the advanced capitalist state may plausibly serve the working class in any way in which it will be required?

Signal as the achievement of the early Labour Party undoubtedly was, it never presented itself as the spearhead of an anti-capitalist working class movement. It did nothing whilst in office to challenge the root causes of either unemployment or depression, the two main problems sought to redress.

Indeed, all governments, particularly diverse, have been the productive operation of capitalism, and this has meant that reformist governments like any others have responded to the needs of the working class rather than those shown by society, as the former are unexplained 'given' in society.

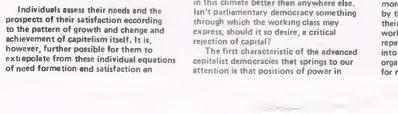
The working class is not able to secure strong participation in education, capitalist democratic governments only in periods when there has been a degree of workers' control, and this is often on conditions of 'moderation' (i.e., class collaboration) in working class political demands.

In our opinion this experience does not provide sufficient basis for us to presume that revolution will be brought about by capitalist would serve as an adequate arena for working class anti-capitalist tendencies. In our opinion there are two further reasons for this pessimism.

The first of these is that there is reason to believe that the ruling class will not easily be compelled to make significant changes to the extent of them being recognised as bearing a mandate for deep social reorientation.

The second reason is that the working class, of its own patterns of self-organisation outside of the existing formal political structures, does not have the capacity to possess no alternative institutions for decision making an aggregate of discrete actions which the business world can emerge as a distinct entity from capital, in the same way as the working class can build an aggregate line piecemeal. The rise of fascism in both Germany and Italy, for instance, took place during periods of crisis for capital particularly acute for these countries.

Imperialist revisions after the First World War. Despite its use of anti-capitalist rhetoric and imagery, fascism was not an absolute indicator of the history of the advanced capitalist democracies, nor an absolute indicator of their limitations.



Workers at the IMRO printing works in Normandy occupied their factory for nine months against closure until they were evicted by French police. They rejected the solution of running the factory as a workers' co-operative, seeing that as a solution this served the needs of capital. Instead they insisted on the right to remain in the factory. The factory was closed down under the Austerity Plan, of which the redundancies were a part.

Photo: Andrew Ward (Report)

political structures we call democratic which have in some cases places existed in some of the advanced capitalist countries. It is parliamentary democracy. It is a democracy with oligarchy, which the prominent apologists of advanced capitalism regard as its zenith; and it is true that present political freedoms have fluctuated this claim being made by many others also. Isn't parliamentary democracy something through which the working class may express its desire, a critical rejection of capital?

The first characteristic of the advanced capitalist democracies that springs to our attention is that positions of power in

between the working-class and the capitalist class has been so grievous that the latter, through its multiple centres of resistance, has been able to sustain its rule over a series of nominally independent local units. These bodies – towns, regions, areas of action – have not been able to achieve a new level of autonomy in the making of decisions. They have been the first expression of an independent movement.

ncils

Let the Italian communists [sic] answer this question: 'Is it possible to have socialism in Italy without socialism in their factories?' (In particular of factory based, but his observations do have a certain validity). "Indeed as it builds the machine, it also builds the man; the machine is the product of the man, the man is the product of the machine, of the most important production, the working class is the product of the machine, the workers are the product of the machine, the workers are the product of the organization of capital, as well as the workers are the product of capital, as they assert that industrial source ought to return to the workers." The workers point of view is a new one. In the working class constitutes organic life, as the cell constitutes the body, the state – and as the state constitutes the system of society.

in situations rather than what is possible. The implications are tremendous. The way from the established food chain to the control of other food organisations through which they can directly express their will is not far removed. It would be at a dead end, with no way forward being apparent. The situation, however, is always already or potentially there to be exploited. It is not merely a matter of how much power the world as an entity has in relation to such a situation over the world as a material entity. It is also a question of how it brings it under a control which is in and which we can see. This is where the dependence on its own power, as we see the possibility of its own self-expansion and end of the mass production of labour, intervention of labour,



democracy is not passive "Free Speech" when it works coming to openly fascist organisations like National Front. They oppose democratic rights in the working class, and positive action must be taken by them a platform for their lies, in order to safeguard those rights end to protect the black community against the racist violence the NF provoke.

economic life amongst some communitarian producers and the consequent peaking of economic activity upon local struggles and conditions.

Secondly, again referring to alienation, the weight of experience tends to bewilder, frustrate, and absolute reality to existing social relations and to create conditions which suspend workers in tension between acceptance and rejection (and, finally, withdrawal).

And finally, the cultural and educational conditions of working class existence – tragic poverty, the absence of opportunity, general social locations in terms of energy competition, with dissatisfaction more often than not being the dominant factor in individual or specific circumstances. There are thus strong reasons why the working class has been unable to respond to the turbulent inactivity with which it comes to the reconciliation of its particular objectives with those of the ruling class. The most troubled currents we nevertheless see are the very life-blood of our general social development.



The Longbridge toolmakers struck unofficially last year for higher differentials, and provoked criticism from the left as well as the bourgeois media. However, socialists should support ALL action on wage demands, particularly when it is betrayed by the union bureaucrats, while continuing to hammer home the point that wage increases do not have to be at the expense of other workers.

.S

we must return to the very
real assessment of need
of satisfaction within the
henever working class
capitalist reality gets
rs out of mesh, it is on one
draw out of the situation
atives for the workers
one hand aequiescence in

quent restriction of guidelines consistent with it selection of capital, and the resulting narrowing of alternatives rarely apparent in the consciousness of people. Partly, this is because capitalism contains many encroachments in the material life of metropolitan workers and of specific objectives, so little basis for regarding being absolutely critical to the social whole. Even in a sector like the public sectors may indeed be brought through various rectifying or control, value transfer, however more fundamental

... fact that capitalism
domination of society by
other than as mutual assessment
and up with the atomisation of

bridge toolmakers struck unofficially last year for higher differentials, and provoked a strike from the employers as well as the bourgeois media. However, socialists should support ALL action demands, particularly whenever it is betrayed by the union bureaucrats, while continuing to insist on home the point that wage increases do not have to be at the expense of others.

Photo: John Sturrock (*Report*)

In this juncture, a summary of the main findings made so far may prove useful, before I turn finally to the capitalist mode of production's characteristic "democratic" characteristics. Secondly, its consequences and class structure in the relative accessibility of wealth.

Thirdly, that where the working class nevertheless gained a foothold in these

establishment of planned economies. It is important to note that, in order to realize best, the characteristics of a planned economy doesn't have to be socialist. In fact, it can be capitalist, as long as the organization of capital and its ability to use entrepreneurial forces would be controlled by the state. The main problem through parliament is probably that, the nature of the state's intervention in the economy of need to be clearly defined. The level of need and satisfaction in the economy must be at a minimum level, and that, if it is not, then it is not a planned economy. This is because, in any case such as to suggest that its intervention is too much, it will lead to a low level in its economy, and that, if it is not, then it is not a planned economy. Therefore, the circumstances arising from these and the associated erection of specific points above are important points of reference in the development of a planned economy. They do indicate, to a certain extent, the ability of parliamentary democracy to be a suitable merit for socialism. We have a different understanding of the term "planned economy" compared with those which believe that parliament is the sovereign residence of power.

Turning to certain current socialist policies which are well known and well understood, as far as the nature of our opposition to the National Front and support of rent and fiscal military – well, the first point to be made is that there are many who do not share our views on the issues presented above; it is possible to disagree both with the policies and with how they interpret the mandate of this letter. In general, they do course refer to it. The case for platform A, for instance,

interpretations made above plus other specific observations concerning the Front and fascism. We see that the leadership of the National Front has a history of open idolatry of Hitler and that many of the party's policies mirror those of the Nazis—not just on race but on things such as hostility to "finance capital", desire for a strong state, both home and abroad, intention to dismantle the industrial organisation of the working class, etc. We have seen that it is possible for the ruling class to remove its support from the parliamentary type state in favour of a fascist regime and that parliamentary conventions may fail a working class faced with such direct action decisions on behalf of capital. We can see how the National Front has repeatedly tried to develop the strike forces and mass movement which is the first basis for such direct action (though we wouldn't claim that many of the ruling class as yet see it as operating in their interests). And thus we come to the conclusion that to make sure that the fascists don't take off into becoming a credible option for capital we must show now that we will not grant them the advantage of restricting our opposition to normal political channels, but will seek to thwart them through mass direct opposition, especially insofar as their attempt at intimidation and self-organisation around violence are concerned.

Reject

In similar fashion, our case for supporting unofficial industrial actions upon their merits rather than upon whether or not they are made official relates primarily to our view of working class development outlined in the main



Oppressed groups—women, gays and blacks—have a particular relationship to socialist democracy. It is vital for their movements to have organisational and political autonomy—both before and after a socialist revolution, since it would be naive to assume that their demands would instantly and automatically be met.

Photo Chris Davies (Repo 1)

body of this article. But it also incorporates further arguments, which time and space prohibit going into here, about the trade unions specifically, which lead us to reject certain aspects of their organisation and practice with regards to the relationship in them between representatives of the corporate whole and the rank and file. (See, for instance, the editorial in the last edition of *LC*.)

Since our analysis of the world shows us a state of affairs in which there is no legitimate repository of egalitarian social unity, we find ourselves repeatedly trying to place ourselves in the living history of its creation—by no means a simple of selfevident project. We do try as part of this, or at least good socialists

I.G.

Libertarian Communist supplements

Hungary



The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was a watershed in working class history. This supplement describes the growing opposition to Stalinism, the uprising, and the eventual crushing of the revolution.



France 1968—the May-June events proved that revolution can still be on the agenda in the present day in Western Europe.

France



Russia 1917 describes the economic background to the revolution and tries to understand how and why the Bolsheviks became increasingly responsive to the real needs of the working class.

Russia

All 3 supplements are available—Hungary 5p, Russia and France 10p +postage from LCG 27 Clerkenwell Close, E.C.1.

Libertarian Communist

Special Supplement

10p



**SPAIN
1936**

The Revolution took place in a period of Spanish and European political instability. The economic crisis, Wall Street crash and the Depression. In 1914-1918 war, when there was no competition and the demand from both sides was high, provided a stimulus to agriculture. There were many towns and industries and a total industrialization of the country. This was followed by a萧条 between 1920 and 1925. Agriculture was also badly affected, but here the basic problem was a stratospheric one, with 20,000 families leaving the land. The new rural society was based on land ownership vested but outside a belt of Catholic tenant farmers between Leon and Valencia. The old system had been discredited and prepared to seize the land. Seventy per cent of the population was still rural. The first signs of the coming civil war were split between Madrid and Barcelona, who were in a position, either as a number of workers or as a number of estates. Over the years up to 1936 the post of president of the Republic was



SPAIN 1936

By 1939 the working-class had been defeated, temporarily, all over Europe. Italy, Albania, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria fascist or militarist governments ruled through repression, preventing working-class organisation. In Russia, where market capitalism had been defeated, Stalin ruled automatically over a state capitalist economy. In Britain and France and other European democracies the working-class movement had been directed into collaboration with the bourgeoisie to face the threat of Hitler under bourgeois control.

Millions would die fighting over the next few years in a struggle which did not achieve any changes for working people other than the partial destruction of fascism. The working-class movement which in 1910 appeared to be moving towards revolution had been unable to prevent two world wars, the degeneration of the revolution in Russia, and their co-option into popular fronts which if they ultimately defeated Hitler in 1945 did so at the cost of preserving capitalism.

Looking back today it is difficult to imagine in this context the enthusiasm of the Spanish Revolution. History is made after all by people, and their actions are not "inevitable". Beyond the Stalinist Communist International, which at its Seventh Congress placed itself firmly in favour of bourgeois "populism", reflected illusions about "socialist" state capitalism in one country, a number of political illusions of all shades, anarchist and Marxist, and the mass of working-class attempts to build a socialist revolution in Spain.

In the face of the defeat of the Revolution this supplement intends to contribute to the discussion which will continue in the years to come, and remains to this day, illustrating the problems that have to be resolved if the movement is to progress. First, the capitulation of the leaders of the CNT and FAI (the archo-syndicalist National Workers' Confederation and the Iberian Anarchist Federation) who prevented the co-ordination of the revolutionary organisations and the destruction of the state; secondly, the development of industrial and economic collectives, which changed the working lives of the millions who participated in them. Before we can examine the political and economic successes and failures of the Revolution we shall have to place these problems in context.

The first years of the Second Republic (1931-1933) and in 1936. However, after the defeat of the left in the 1933 elections, as a result of an abstention campaign by the CNT and the PSOE, the right won a majority of seats, the Falangist right and fidel had begun to dominate. The Falangist right re-emerged as a major force as rural bosses seeking workers in revenge for the gains won before 1933. The right wing in Asturias was dominated by this right-wing leadership, so that the UGT leader Caballero refused to support the rising in Madrid. Thus the other more right-wing leaders of the UGT were unreliable allies for the revolution.

The positions of the PCE before 1936 followed the twists and turns of Committee policy; it had few members and little influence.

The POUM (Workers' Union Marxist) was a smaller party, whose leftists were overt Trotskyists, who criticised the timidity of the leadership and objected to the line of the front. The party reached the function of 10,000 members in 1936. The PCE (CP) who had left the PCE because of its turn to the left over "social fascism" and demanded the immediate withdrawal of orders to join the PSOE. The party had some importance in 1934 backing the uprising in Asturias and Berlanga. The CN had refused to back this rising except in Asturias because it felt itself too weak

owed the twists and turns of Committee; it had few members and little influence.

The POCUM (Workers' United Marxist) was a peculiar mixture. On the left were Trotskyists, who criticized the leadership of the insurrection and objected to its popularity front. The party emerged from the fusion of the Workers and Peasants Bloc (WPB) who had left the PCE because of its support for Stalinism. It moved to the left over 'social fascism' and denoted Trotskyists who referred Trotskyists to join the PSOE. The party had won importance in 1934 backing the Workers' Alliance which had led to the fight in Asturias and Biscay. The CNT had referred to back this ruling except in principle because it felt itself too weak

Outside of these parties were other Bordighists, dissident Trotskyists, and exiles like the anarchist Bernari. Such tendencies had to make some good causing the revolutionaries to join the POUM.

Anarchists

The anarchist movement was split into different tendencies organised largely in four groups, the CNT, the FAI, the young (FIJL) and the women (*Mujeres Libres*). Since many commentators who should better persist in talking of 'the anarchists' some of the basic tendencies will be explained here.

Within the CNT there were following all the anarchist tendencies except Peasant Syndicalist Party. Pestana was the leader of the CNT from the murder of Seguí until he was expelled in 1931. He had advocated support for the government and participated in the labour commissions. The expulsion of Pestana and his party saw their reformist influence increase and they eventually joined the popular front.

The minority tendency of the CNT, the *trinitaria*, in the 1931 Conference won majorities for the key proposals of the national federations. The industry, however, was syndicato unitario, which grouped workers from every factory in a town or city federation; and patient strategy towards the government which excluded uprising. It was this that was the dividing line for the 'extra' fraction of the FAI who gained control of the strikes failed in Barcelona. They also threatened to withdraw from the Generalitat, while the *trinitaria* insisted that as they were not ready for the revolution they needed some understanding with the politicians. The FAI were understandably angry when the Generalitat went to seek their faction fight the intervention of irresponsible wing of the CNT.

In 1934 the *trentistas* did support joint rising of the Catalanist radicals, socialists and POUM. In the wave of repression that followed the *trentistas'* fears were proved justified. Whilst the Barcelona workers were already suffering from

workers were already suffering from Generalitat repression, which spread suburbs and towns around Barcelona support for the insurrections was strong; the rural risings were defeated only by Andalusia, Aragon, the Levant, Catalonia. The FAI dominated revolutionary committees organised many risings, as well as a successful campaign to boycott the elections, but each rising focused on a new region, whilst the previous centre was too weak to make any serious effort. Never did all the regions where anarchism was strongest rise simultaneously.

The FAI itself was split into various tendencies. Evidence for the political orientation of the tendencias is sparse and sometimes contradictory. Abel Péz's *Los Durutti: the People Armed* details most of the controversies the 'Nosotros' group involved in. Little information other than this and Peirats' *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution* is available in English. More available in various memoirs, many un-

lished, and works such as *Lo Cossio*, *Anarchistes Espagnols au Pouvoir*, etc., show that the Nostros group which included the Aseso brothers, Durutti, G. Oliver and R. Sanz, there were other groups around R. Prieto and M. Bureaucrats who apparently developed a moderate or even socialist line. The Anarcho-Syndicalists, however, advocated a planned economy, run by industrial unions in opposition to Faix Montseny's plan for a free federation of communes. Whilst Montseny's view prevailed at the Zaragoza National Conference CNT in 1936, the alternative was partly implemented in the self-managed industry after July 1936.

The basis of the FAU up to 1936 was an affinity group which worked jointly with the important committee of the CNT.

Afrikan groups such as the Nostratos were not political tendencies as much as support groups of friends. Nostratos was consistently radical and emphasised direct action but had no clear political line. Most Afrikanists had been recruited to the FAI by the CNT. By 1936 they must have numbered 10,000. This situation prevailing it is difficult to follow the devotions within the FAI. By 1936 the FAI must have numbered 15,000. That it had had before 1931 from the reformists and then the autonomous CNT. Different groups formed to defend the CNT in 1931. Important differences were maintained by the regional divisions within the CNT. The most important followed a policy of co-operation with the UGT. The Anarcho-syndicalists were hard line anarchoists, hence the FAI's name. They were the right wing of the seat of the National Committee up to 1934, then Barcelona which had a history of being the left wing of the CNT. The National Committee naturally took on the political character of the city in which it resided, and by whose local federation it depended.

Few theoreticians deserved mention in the CNT. Perhaps the most notorious was V. Oroboch Esteban who died in 1934. Oroboch Esteban fell into exile during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and participated in the international movement of the workers' supporters of the Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists, which was formed by the Spanish section of the Comintern. In 1931 Oroboch returned to Spain and participated in the Cominid congress where he supported the line of the CNT. In 1933 he was one of the main speakers for the abstentionist campaign, but worried by the lack of revolutionaries within the UGT, he pointed to the example of the unsuccessful revolution of 1931 in which socialists, communists, and anarcho-syndicalists (Landerus, Muhamed) had co-operated. His demand for an alliance on the basis of a five point programme the Anarcho-syndicalists were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike, The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

political position and the presence of the revolutionary militia until late 1937. From the most developed areas of rural revolution, like Aragon, front line collectives were organised early on elsewhere, the Council of Aragon was not recognised by the government until 1938. In some areas, even then, half its members were in the CNT, and one in the syndicalist party. Only three members of the province were under the CP.

A CNT organised congress of collectives represented representatives from 80,000 collectives. The number of collectives there were 34,000 CNT members over all of Aragon, Navarre and Rioja. The 276 collectives had 100,000 members. Of 43,000 inhabitants 69.6% were involved in collectives, running 70% of the land, according to one estimate. Many had done away with money and barter. Trade was made either by rationing, by the use of collectives' own credit notes, or totally by barter. The collectives had begun to take big improvements — machine repair, etc. Generally speaking wages were paid in kind, though some collectives had been giving an equal share. Schools were often set up for the first time. Most collectives voluntarily gave large amounts of their time. The best known of all the collectives was similar. Those that joined it shared out their land and worked in small group run by their own committee. All decisions were made by general assemblies with everyone present. Some of the collectives were found near parts of the front line, like Petrel and Pisuerga were active too, and independently of the CNT. Relations with the UGT varied; some collectives had to pay rent to landowners who joined the UGT to protect themselves against the revolution should only be allowed to work and should they be allowed to do so? A few of the collectives agreed that a bank should be set up — not an interest earning bank, but a bank that could be used to help between collectives, between town and country, and for international purchases.

Industry
Industrialisation in the towns was less profound than in the countryside where agriculture was more important. The necessity to improve a war industry to produce explosives for the first time in Catalonia, and therefore to a long, drawn out revolution, was the possibility for socialisation of the urban economy. Again, only one sector can be given — Barcelona, the centre of armaments. The mobilisation of the economy in Barcelona was undertaken spontaneously by the workers. The CNT had been formed in 1931. The CNT had merely ordered a general strike and a resumption of work. Most of the larger businesses — shipyards, engineering, printing, etc. were collectives in the first week of the revolution. One of the first measures was to reinstate all the unemployed. The CNT had been able to give work to those who had been unemployed since the outbreak of the civil war. The CNT had also established a fund to help those who had been made redundant. The CNT had also established a fund to help those who had been made redundant.

The CNT had been formed in 1931. The CNT had merely ordered a general strike and a resumption of work. Most of the larger businesses — shipyards, engineering, printing, etc. were collectives in the first week of the revolution. One of the first measures was to reinstate all the unemployed. The CNT had been able to give work to those who had been unemployed since the outbreak of the civil war. The CNT had also established a fund to help those who had been made redundant. The CNT had also established a fund to help those who had been made redundant.

The CNT had been formed in 1931. The CNT had merely ordered a general strike and a resumption of work. Most of the larger businesses — shipyards, engineering, printing, etc. were collectives in the first week of the revolution. One of the first measures was to reinstate all the unemployed. The CNT had been able to give work to those who had been unemployed since the outbreak of the civil war. The CNT had also established a fund to help those who had been made redundant.

The CNT had been formed in 1931. The CNT had merely ordered a general strike and a resumption of work. Most of the larger businesses — shipyards, engineering, printing, etc. were collectives in the first week of the revolution. One of the first measures was to reinstate all the unemployed. The CNT had been able to give work to those who had been unemployed since the outbreak of the civil war. The CNT had also established a fund to help those who had been made redundant.

GLOSSARY

Esquire "Laval". A bourgeois Catalan party.

FJL Iberian Federation of Liberal Youth.

Generalitat "the government" of Catalonia.

GPU Stalinist secret police.

ILP Independent Labour Party.

IWMA International Workers Men's Association.

PCE Spanish Communist Party.

PSOE Spanish Socialist Party (Second International).

PSOP French Workers' and Peasants' Socialist Party, a split from the SFIO.

SAP German Social Workers' Party, a split from the Second International party.

sindicatos "single unions".

Solidaridad Obrera

Obrares trentista

"the thirties". CNT moderate tendency so named because thirty years old.

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo opposing tactic of unprepared spontaneous revolution advocated by the FAI.

responses to military risings was to be the revolutionary general strike. The policy of alliances was agreed, since 30,000 political prisoners were held by the state and 100,000 by the rebels. With this situation prevailing it is difficult to follow the devotions within the FAI. By 1936 the FAI must have numbered 10,000 plus those who had before 1931 from the reformists and then the autonomous CNT. Different groups formed to defend the CNT in 1931. Important differences were maintained by the regional divisions within the CNT. The most important followed a policy of co-operation with the UGT. The Anarcho-syndicalists were hard line anarchoists, hence the FAI's name. They were the right wing of the seat of the National Committee up to 1934, then Barcelona which had a history of being the left wing of the CNT. The National Committee naturally took on the political character of the city in which it resided, and by whose local federation it depended.

Few theoreticians deserved mention in the CNT. Perhaps the most notorious was V. Oroboch Esteban who died in 1934. Oroboch Esteban fell into exile during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera and participated in the international movement of the workers' supporters of the Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists, which was formed by the Spanish section of the Comintern. In 1931 Oroboch returned to Spain and participated in the Cominid congress where he supported the line of the CNT. In 1933 he was one of the main speakers for the abstentionist campaign, but worried by the lack of revolutionaries within the UGT, he pointed to the example of the unsuccessful revolution of 1931 in which socialists, communists, and anarcho-syndicalists (Landerus, Muhamed) had co-operated. His demand for an alliance on the basis of a five point programme the Anarcho-syndicalists were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

4. Right of self-government of revolutionaries.

5. Immediate aim of revolutionary workers' democracy.

Unlike other organisations, the CNT did have a clear idea that the coming revolution would be proletarian. At its Congress in 1936 a motion demanding liberalisation of communism and unionisation of agriculture, by transients and others alike. The conference ratified resolutions with the following additions: "The failure of the CNT was its lack of direction, and its lack of preparation to counter the coming military rising. The CNT must be prepared to train was defeated by one favouring the 'more anarchist' idea of guerrilla warfare. The

points were:

1. Technical planning, no co-operation with the bourgeois PCE!

2. Socialisation of the means of production, integration of the unemployed into the working class, no private wealth, no commodity production.

3. Organs to integrate the economy.

as a feminist organisation, feminist views did develop in it. Emma Goldman wrote in December 1936 of their paper that 'the class struggle operates in a different way than in the rest of society'. She added that could be no revolution. 'The war allowed many women to enter jobs for the first time. Many women were involved in the development along; though many of the jobs were still preserves for men, women were active in areas such as administration, health, food, etc. The groups who organised crises in factories. Simultaneously Federico Gutiérrez, an FAI member, and Joaquín Morató, a Marxist, helped to provide birth control and legalised abortion. The organisation of the Mujeres Libres was instrumental in encouraging women to become aware of and fight against their oppression: e.g. Pepita Carrión ... at the front, she said, 'We must, but later I realised that there was a vast work to do among ourselves'.

Although it is difficult to describe there were more general aspects to the revolution. Abel Paz talks of militiamen who didn't sleep for days. Gómez Ortega says that 'there had called each other and commented of being forced. Clothes changed. Revolution came from above. Papers were printed, the collects pressmen were taken over. Churches and feasts were burnt and killed. Prisoners were freed, even criminals, some of whom had been condemned to death. Column here Valencia. The libertarian youth organised a popular university. The revolutionaries had a revolution that followed affected all areas of life.

Failure

Although a proletarian revolution obviously began, why did it fail? If any reader still doubts the bourgeois character of the PCE, B. Bollaert in 'The Spanish Civil War' provides a detailed exposure of their activities. The PCE and its Catalan PSUC played a crucial role in the early stages of the revolution. They opened their parties to all the opponents of collectivisation and fascism and supported every form of government. The PCE was at the centre of a coalition whose nominal head may have been republican, or socialist, but was in reality a mixture of the right, Russian arms, to represso police units. These arms were used to retrain the police forces which were then used to repress the revolution. By December 1936 40,000 Carabineros and 28,000 national Republican Guards were created. These troops then marched on the front. These troops and others led by Lister formed regular but communist troops in the north. Their task was to destroy the collectives of the Levant and Aragon in 1937/8. For the PCE it mattered little what they did, anything that smacked of revolution under the pretence that such 'excesses' were frightening of potential counter-revolutionary elements. In reality this policy fitted in with Stalin's. Stalin had made a pact with France to fight Hitler in Germany. However, he looks at the end of arms supplied to Spain by the USSR one notes that virtually no

arms were supplied to Spain after late in 1937. Instead Stalin made a pact to divide up Poland with Hitler. It is difficult to doubt that PCE meant to destroy the revolution with its slogan of 'We were the revolution'.

Dilemmas

The problem posed to the revolutionary left was of how to defend and extend the revolution, and win the war at the same time. Essentially it extended to the defeat of the revolution and the victory of Franco has to relate to the way the revolutionaries approached the problem. Why did the CNT not build the revolution? 'No Libertarian Communists — first collectivists — have built the revolution' (Obrera 21-7-36). '... the government of the Popular Front in Spain is no more than the government of the bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and international capital' (Sol. Ob. 3-9-36). When after the CNT had been defeated, the PSUC had to say (4-10-37): 'Circumstances have ... changed the nature of the Spanish state and government. It is now a bourgeois state, the representative organs of the state are of an oppressive force against the working class' (Sol. Ob. 3-9-36).

Durruti seems to have believed that there would be an encroachment of power, after Zaragoza was taken. Saragossa, according to him, was 'a place of bourgeois collaboration', not dictatorship, i.e. rule by the CNT alone would be against encroachment from foreign powers. After a few weeks of this policy G. Oliver who et first heard Durruti speak, was told by the latter from the war told Durruti in August 1936



bourgeoisie, when one attacks foreign property, when public order is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, when the bourgeoisie is reinforced by the unions, when, in fact, one is in the process of making a revolution from the outside, then is it possible to give this a legal basis?

These events seem to have been that which led to the CNT. The opponents of the Nostrous group appear to have been defeated by Santillan and the ex-traitors first in Barcelona when the tide of revolution turned in favour of Durruti in August 1936.



That it was necessary to build the revolution secretly from within a government. He replied: 'When the workers expropriate the outside Catalonia (where the CNT was

The revolution and civil war in Spain in 1936-1939 contained some of the greatest moments in the history of the European working-class.

It is important for libertarians to remember that the largest single organisation of the working-class in Spain was the CNT, the marco-syndicalist trade unions.

Today, 40 years on, does the libertarian tradition have any importance in Spain?

The answer to that question must undoubtedly be yes. Despite being ignored by most of the revolutionary Left in Britain, the Libertarian movement has grown rapidly since the death of Franco. The CNT is growing rapidly, and now has perhaps as many as 30,000 members. As important, it seems to have learnt from the mistakes it made in the Civil War.

The Libertarian Spain Committee believes that libertarianism, with Spanish libertarians is vital for us in Britain, and sees Spain as 'the weak link in European capitalism.'

Libertarian Spain, bulletin of the LSC, is available for 20p inc. postage, bundles of 5 for £1 cash with the order. Address: LSC, 100, Ruislip Lane, Ruislip, Middlesex UB10 0JL, England. No. 1, still available, covers the subjects in the CNT, the Spanish elections, economic and political background. No. 2, available from January, covers recent developments, the counter-culture etc etc.

weekend and therefore more liable to pressure from outside groups) all reinforce this conclusion.

Two arguments need consideration: (1) What was the effect of the policies adopted?

The more perspicuous argument appears to be that the CNT had to be prepared to win foreign support in order to succeed. This is some naive ideas about this aid: One article in Solidarized Obrera gave uncritical praise to the British government and the USA, and where would go to. In any case all the arms went to the revolutionaries as well as to fight at the front. G. Oliver who et first heard Durruti speak, was told by the latter that neither party would allow either to gain influence in the other.

In fact the policy of pleasing the liberal democracies had great costs. It was that the revolutionaries managed to destroy Franco's base in Morocco by supporting an anti-imperialist struggle. Spain also excepted that the revolutionaries managed to capture the Spanish navy, where troops arrived from Morocco. Thus the Spanish navy, which remained in revolution throughout the whole war, was left idle, where it could have struck an important blow. Britain was unhappy about interference in the vicinity of its base at Gibraltar. France was unhappy about the economic effects of the revolutionaries also related to the use of the Bank of Spain's gold deposits. The IWMRA had co-operated in a plan to seize the Bank of Spain's gold after the gold had been seized by a force led by Durruti and Santillan. The latter however developed a plan to prevent the seizure of the government of Madrid. Subsequently the gold went to Russia and the arms delivered.

The effect of the policy of working within the parliamentary institutions which the CNT was obliged to follow from the beginning of July, also had counter-revolutionary effects on the development of the armed forces. While the levies would always be recruited from the working-class, those who were recruited were not those who were recruited that were to take Berlanga. Whilst some anarchists were saying we must 'Zaragoza', others were supporting Santillan communism in Barcelona, the PSUC prepared for the confrontation of May 1937. On the 1st May, the day of the revolution of the watch committee at a time when the Spanish branch of the GPU prepared for the murder of the leading members of the POUML, A. Nin, who was taken by the GPU and killed, possibly in Moscow. Other well known militants disappeared, notably Companys, who was captured and shot. Durruti was shot from behind. Meanwhile at the front militiaman were accepted. Consequently we had the militia units being kept together, but militarisation still meant the destruction of revolutionary self-organisation and self-government. C. Marx who at the Zaragoza CNT Congress had opposed militias (he wanted guerrilla warfare) ended up by making a speech which was so bad that he said that he would no longer speak to an ordinary soldier!

Economy

Within the revolutionaries there were two problems: France and the USA. The failure of the CNT to destroy the capitalist economy, its failure to organise and plan the economy, for itself meant that raw materials for collectives were not available. Orders for uniforms were sometimes made abroad rather than going to revolutionaries. The PSUC used its positions to reverse collecti-



visations in industry; e.g. they resurrected small bakeries to win the support of their petty bourgeois allies, and in the process created a bread shortage that led to large queues for bread in the working class suburbs whilst restaurants had plenty for the rich. Collectives were not integrated so that there were examples of workers being beaten up for asking for payment of bills. Whilst the CNT pursued an alliance with the UGT it compromised itself as the defender of the workers' collective. When a pact was finally signed it represented the organisations' bureaucracies – but not the workers' movement.

There was no involvement in planning who should produce what within each factory assembly. Durruti had prothesized a 'state socialist' economy more or less correctly. The policy of compromise pursued by the CNT therefore implied the negation of the revolution. The right wing tendencies who argued that the state was no longer repressive took hold of the movement through bureaucratic means, just as they were using similar means to run the economy and army. Opposition papers which did not reflect the line of the central CNT leadership were banned. No assemblies of CNT members took place to ratify the decisions that were taken. The national committee was supervised by permanent regional delegates, rather than delegates who had to report always to their own assemblies. In this context the organisation of national Industrial Federations to replace the *sindicatos unicos* reinforced the bureaucracy of the CNT. Similar processes took place in the FAI too. The development of these trends therefore implied a destruction of the revolutionary organisations and their replacement by a bureaucracy of full time officials representing an organisation whose members were silent and censored.

Politically the development of these tendencies compromised the CNT as a revolutionary class organisation.

The political alternative to this betrayal developed in many places.

Camillo Berneri wrote some erudite articles about revolutionary governments exposing both the Leninists and the ministers. In December 1936 he wrote '... There is a smell of Noske in the air. If Madrid were not in flames one would be obliged to recall Kronstadt... The dilemma 'Madrid or Franco' has paralysed Spanish anarchism. Today Barcelona is situated between Burgos, Rome, Berlin, Madrid and Moscow. Besieged ... we can still perform miracles. Caught between the Prussians and Versailles, the commune lit a fire which still lights the world. Between Burgos and Madrid there is Barcelona...' ⁴

The Mujeres Libres group made a novel demand on the rest of the anarchist movement. They asked that they should be given equal representation with the FAI, FIJL, and CNT.

Many in the militias refused to accept the decrees that mobilised them as part of the popular army.

In March 1937 a federation of collectives attacked by state police organised a defence front between themselves.

The FIJL organised a campaign in defence of the patrol committees who were ordered by the government to surrender their arms.

Perhaps the culmination of this opposition was the alliance formed in the streets in May 1937, when the PSUC attempted to intimidate the workers' organisations. Rank and file CNT members, POUMists, a few Bolshevik-Leninists (Trotskyists), and an illicit CNT group, the Friends of Durruti united behind the barricades. In May they had condemned the CNT leadership with

this manifesto: '... We are the friends of Durruti and we have sufficient authority to condemn those individuals who through incapacity and fear have betrayed the working class. Whilst we have more enemies in front of us than ever before we have power to Companies again (the leader of the Generalitat), public order to the reactionary government of Valencia, and the defence commissariat to General Pozas – treason is immense.' They called for a revolutionary junta of workers, peasants and soldiers.

Later they declared: 'G. Oliver, F. Montseny and the leadership of the CNT have permitted the Stalinists and assault guards to cruelly assassinate C. Berneri and the young F. Ferrer... since 19 July the anarchist leaders have capitulated many times before the demands of the bourgeoisie and in the name of anti-fascist unity have arrived at openly betraying the revolution. Anti-fascist unity has been only subordination to the bourgeoisie – it has entailed the military victories of Franco and the counter-revolution at the rear.'

To beat France we need to beat Companies and Caballero. To beat fascism we need to crush the bourgeoisie and its Stalinist and socialist allies. The capitalist state must be destroyed totally and there must be installed workers' power depending on rank and file workers' committees.

Apolitical Anarchism has failed. To beat the bloc of the bourgeoisie and its allies – Stalinists, socialists, CNT leaders – the workers must break clearly with traitors on all sides. Their vanguard, i.e. the revolutionary militants of the friends of Durruti, POUM, and the youth, must regroup to elaborate a programme of proletarian revolution.

Berneri was dead. The revolution was dead. Between Burgos and Madrid Barcelona had died isolated, but still struggling.

Libertarian Communist supplements

Hungary



The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was a watershed in working class history. This supplement describes the growing opposition to Stalinism, the uprising, and the eventual crushing of the revolution.



Russia 1917 describes the economic background to the revolution and tries to understand how and why the Bolsheviks became increasingly unresponsive to the real needs of the working class.

Russia



France 1968 the May-June events proved that revolution can still be on the agenda in the present day in Western Europe.

France

7150R/3156114

Libertarian Communist

Special Supplement

10p



RUSSIA 1917



The revolutionary process in Russia was associated with widespread discontent. Russia's participation in the imperialist First World War had proved a tremendous drain on its resources.

Although the war initially supplied some industrialists with considerable gains, it rapidly lowered the Russian economy to a standstill. For example, by the end of 1916 iron and steel production had fallen to 1/6 of its 1914 level, and coal production to 1/3 of its 1914 level. The transport system had become completely unusable, with 1/3 of its locomotives out of commission and 1/2 of its railway staff unemployed. The staff had mobilised some 15 million men, an estimated 1/3 of the male agricultural population, and had taken over the land and of manpower in order to form an army which they were increasingly unable to supply with munitions and other necessities.

In the countryside, the area of

cultivated land was contracting and yield

had declined by as much as 1/3. Starvation

and disease soon followed. The hyperinflation

made the richer peasants

increasingly reluctant to part with their

surplus grain, and drove what they needed to

sell to pay taxes.

What is known as the

Revolution was essentially the beginning of

two simultaneous tendencies. On the one

hand, all sections of the masses began to

take action and to raise demands directed

towards the destruction of those governments

which the war had either created or

worsened. The soldiers wanted food and an

end to the miserable conditions of

their employment; the peasants, land enough

to grow their own food and freedom from

the market and freedom from

repression by a state apparatus which

could claim substantial responsibility for

the war. The middle bourgeoisie

was a succession of provisional

governments which failed either to crush

these demands or to end them by finding

solutions to them.

Why did these governments fail?

Partly because they were too weak to take

action, but also partly because they were

govtorned by the bourgeoisie which felt

itself threatened by every aspiration of

the masses.

Capital

The sort of social development associated

with the bourgeoisie in America and

the bourgeois programme of their own beyond

RUSSIA 1917

The last months of 1917 have seen the socialist press publish many celebrations of the 1917 Russian Revolution. The interpretation of this major episode in working-class history is one of the areas in which Libertarian Communists take a rather different attitude from that of those revolutionaries anxious to be of 'Leninist' or 'Trotskyist' tradition.

The 'Leninist' group admits, however, that a comprehensive and agreed libertarian alternative has yet to be produced. While we present here, therefore, is by no means a group position. It is rather an individual viewpoint, which we hope exhibits the spirit of criticism we feel on this subject as a group, whilst contributing to the ongoing process of resolving this problem by new analysis.

What is known as the 'Russian Revolution' did not take place in Russia. The political ambitions and competencies of the Russian bourgeoisie were determined by their particular history. Their main concern was to defend their position as landlords and fearful of change in established property relations.

Indeed, the Russian Revolutions itself's consequence of the combined interests of the autocracy and the bourgeoisie. Foreign control of the economy and of industrial growth (e.g. 60% of the output of iron and especially of the money supply (e.g. 55% of Peasant) labour resources were foreign owned. On the eve of the Revolution gave an economic rationale to the military alliance. The bourgeois parties had been instrumental in battle which would bring renewed economic and political gains in Turkey, Afghanistan and Poland.

Proletariat

Once the autocracy had been blown away, it became increasingly evident that the bourgeois parties and those socialists who put their faith in a 'bourgeois stage' in

the revolutionary process had nothing to offer. The key contribution of the Bolsheviks between February and October was to define the question of the agency that could bring about the revolution and those measures whose absence kept the masses in turmoil—the ending of the war, the removal of the tsar by the peasants, satisfaction of the workers' grievances in industry—as a question of class power.

The issue of bourgeois property was hardly ever raised. The mass movements of the period, except insofar as they led to expropriations of the peasants themselves, did not pose the question of what the capitalist could get a hearing. In general terms the question of bourgeois property was not raised, nor was there any real medium of the political consequences.

October saw the remnants of the old bourgeoisie from power at least as far as it went. The removal of its representatives from the government and the abandoning of its associations with which it had associated itself.

Soviets

A new committee, the 'soviet', had emerged as the location for the formulation of social objectives, an organisation associated with the participation and the policies of the previously oppressed social classes, and particularly the working-peasants. This political expropriation provided the context for a entire social transformation, the result of the revolution and struggle provided by the proletariat along with the allegiance of the soldiers, the sailors and the workers. The working people of both town and country to begin to determine the nature of their own lives according to their own assessment of social and political objectives.

Or had it.

We now know that somehow, somewhere along the line, the workers and the peasants were to get left out of the process. Whereas under capitalist workers were alienated from their products and ultimately ordered and controlled by the accumulation of capital, the Russian workers were represented by the soviets aiming little influence over the ordering and control of a bureaucratic planning system which, if it did not work exactly the same way as capital, seemed nevertheless just as remote and

politically irrelevant.

Let's consider for a moment this question

PHOTOS COURTESY OF DAVID KING



INDUSTRY: Oil wells at Baku before the revolution.

of involvement. On the one hand its failure to develop in the most rapid way did not prevent the accomplishment of tasks which a Russian capitalism, as dependent on imperialist capital, might well have found impossible; on the other hand it has saved the state to whom it has brought the power. On the other hand, in purely productive terms its significance would surely have been of a positive character. A more exact assessment of objectives, potential capacities etc. What's more, workers who know why they are fighting are more likely to work better. This side of the argument is often forgotten at the level of production efficiency as it is to ignore it. We have an interest in the rationalisation and planning of the productive forces as well as our objectives coincide with our total species development.

The understanding of, and responding to, social development in Russia, must be individualised as part of the collective, changes not merely the "how" of production, but also the "why". It is important to stress the importance of the mass self-determination of labour in the revolutionary process.

What happened to the mass self-determination of labour in Russia? We could slip here into total and unapologetic fatalism. We could stop at pointing out that for us the revolution was a failure, that there were ideal conditions for the revolution in the world over. We see that from its start the Russian Revolution was hampered by the non-occurrence of revolution elsewhere, in that workers aid from advanced industrial nations was not forthcoming, whilst imperialist intervention was imminent. We see that this placed the task of reconstruction in the context of a small and shattered industry hung in the balance, and the overwhelming mass of newly independent peasant-farmers. We can see that both the Russian and international factors were but poorly developed in terms of radical, cultural, organisational and political experience. There were certainly daunting problems.

Nevertheless, it is only after we have ensured that all that is possible was done that one can have done what is necessary to sustain the mass self-determination of labour, even under these conditions, that we can allow ourselves the judgement that the elimination of this component to the degree seen in Russia was unavoidable.

Lenin

Of particular interest to us should be the

THE TERROR

It is worthy mentioning here the general question of repression in this period. From the very first days of the Revolution the viability of the Bolshevik movement was endangered by the harassment, official and semi-official, of critics of the Bolsheviks. As early as December 1917, the "Extraordinary Commission", had emerged from the Proletar military-revolutionary Committee, and it had not been too sensitive in its

striving after political domination for itself. Our aim is the dictatorship of the revolutionary proletariat. A more popular expression of this would occur in the better known work Left Wing Communism.

"The mere presentation of the question 'Who rules?' is not enough. The class which the class 'rules' is not enough. In most cases . . . classes are led by political parties."

It is also possible, of course, to find passages of Lenin in which he seems to emphasise the sovereignty of the Soviets rather than of the Party. In *The State and Revolution* for instance, he wrote of the Soviets

"This appears, by virtue of the fact that the Soviets are the only organs which are fit to rule at the peoples' will without bureaucratic formalities, far more than the Party."

In the final analysis, it is to the practice of the Bolsheviks to which we must turn.

There is no doubt that there was a

respected emphasis upon the Party, especially

upon its role in inspiring the workers and peasants in the Soviets and in the leading bodies, where the leading role of the proletariat, indeed as it still had one, could be clearly seen.

The organisation and accomplishment of October was the responsibility not of the

Soviets as a whole, but rather of the



All-Russian Congress of Factory and Shop Committees.

Bolshevik dominated Petrograd Soviet and St. Petersburg Revolutionary Committee. The St. Petersburg Revolutionary Committee of Soviets merely ratified the event, and had claimed a 'provisional workers and peasants government' which was to direct affairs until the convening of the Constituent Assembly.'

This provisional government consisted of the Bolshevik-dominated Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (VTsIK). When the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets met in November 1918, however, it found itself again merely refusing a decision to dissolve the Constituent Assembly, instead it directed the VTsIK, having a Second Congress held left behind. Or rather, by a VTsIK which had moved to Moscow and had no members, the delegates had been added from a peasant congress in November, another 100 had appeared from army and the frontier, and 50 from the Trade Unions.

Given the length of this article, the crucial opening period of this period is marked by considerable confusion as to who had real power and who did not. Power was severely located. This confusion was not limited to the question of the composition of the All-Russian Congress. The most further confusion between VTsIK and Sovnarkom. The latter body conferred legislative power on itself by a decree of November 1918, which had two main qualifications: 'its powers were to be valid only on the convocation of the Constituent Assembly' and VTsIK had the power to 'decree non-Bolsheviks in VTsIK were

protesting at the extent to which Sovnarkom was governing with previous submission to VTsIK. A resolution supporting Sovnarkom in this position, however, was after Sovnarkom began to operate with increasing independence.

A resolution eventually passed by the 5th All-Russian Congress did nothing to counteract the lack of initiative of the Bolsheviks, however, and was passed from VTsIK to Sovnarkom. The crucial point, however, is that there was no attempt by the Bolsheviks to prevent this contraction of political independence.

In the period between the insurrection and the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly, there had spread confusion as to whether the Assembly or the Soviets were to be the sovereign organisation, eventually making the Bolsheviks the dominant force.

They had not consistently fought in the Soviets for the Soviets to proclaim their sovereignty, and the Bolsheviks were to show for their unwillingness to take matters into the Soviets. They were also to show themselves unable to foster initiatives taken by the workers outside the Soviets.

Peace

No doubt in the early days many Soviets deteriorated, engaged in heated discussions of their location, and the questions upon which they would be called upon to ratify a decision. In the case of the insurrection and the dismissing of the

bloody retribution.

For us, in this article, however, we must proceed to look at as it were, the other side of the Bolshevik coin, in terms of the posing of the issue of social power.

The big question, of course, is the one of how to bring about the change in social power. I interpret the dominant tendency in the Bolsheviks to have been that tended to believe the Party was the axis around which the proletariat (also understanding this exercise of power to mean the proletarians) were of little importance. The most extreme was the one represented by Lenin. A nest expression of the confusion comes, for instance, in his work *On Compromises*, for example, in his work *On Compromises*, he

constituent assembly there does not seem to have been much disagreement. However, on the question of the party negotiations with Germany, there was disagreement, and this makes it a good issue around which to study the participation of the Soviets in government.

It is particularly important here to square the question of the rights or wrongs of the war. Lenin was not on the wrong side of this issue. Lenin was not on the wrong side of this issue. There was considerable disagreement at the time on the matter. On the one hand those who saw the war as a just war even in the face of annexations in order to give the new government a breathing space. On the other hand those that thought that the abandonment of aggression was the only way to go, with propaganda and partial resistance to any offensive war, to provide both a military advantage and an inspiration to the workers of Europe. According to the bourgeois historian Shapley (*Origins of the Communist Autocracy*), the government was soon to form a committee to study the views of some of the Soviets and found that a majority were in favour of the abandonment of certain socialist issues.

Given the length of the regulations, and the strength of feeling in the country, this was an issue on which the Bolsheviks could

ZERO, Monthly
"Anarchist/Anarcho-feminist" magazine.
20p per copy.
Cheques payable to: ZERO Collective
ZERO Postal address: ZERO
E R
ZERO
Rising Free,
182 Upper St.,
London N1.

have sought the widest possible debate, and made the final decision of all the Soviets. Delegates with certain firms in VTsIK and the Bolshevik Party, but they did not appear to have been politically centralised outside these bodies. Certainly, the extraordinary 4th All-Russian Congress of Soviets in Moscow in March 1918, merely to ratify the treaty.

It was then that the decision was taken to move to the actual settlement which had tremendous repercussions on the Soviets. In particular the main non-Bolshevik party, the Left Socialist Revolutionaries, lost confidence in the Soviets and proceeded to call upon the workers and peasants to take up arms against the Germans, without the sanction of the Soviets. The German ambassador, Nieuwenhuis, reported that "a civil war" had occurred between revolutionary partisans units and troops loyal to VTsIK. As a result the Left SRs and their supporters were expelled from VTsIK, and their presses were closed down.

The pending of decisions relating to the Constituent Assembly, and to the peace, and in the operation of the terror, we see components of the decline of mass involvement in the Soviets. It appears that the Bolsheviks did not seek to foster this involvement, and indeed, through their handling of the terror end of this organisation of the working-class, they were instrumental in progressive emanation of Soviet power was not simply a matter of the quality of implementation in the execution of the terror. This was particularly true with regard to the proletariat, and its relations with the entire sector of production associated with the majority of the population.

In the general upheaval after February 1917 the Soviets had not been able to form an effective committee to oversee the division of plant based workers' committees. Many industrial enterprises had seen the founding of plant based workers' committees. On 10th March 1917 a conference of such factory committees in Petrograd declared themselves as "fighting organisations elected on the basis of the widest democracy" seeking to "abolish the old system of control" and the "organisation of thorough control of labour over production and distribution". Industrial workers were to be freed from types of trade union branch to revolutionary organisations of the shop floors.

On October 17th 1917, however, an all-Russian conference of such committees called for the handing of power to the Soviets. This did not sit well with the Bolsheviks having a majority at the conference.

The existence of factory committees moved the Bolsheviks to important discussions about the running of the economy in the post-October period. The first of these was whether or not the factory committees could assume the rôle of the state in the economy. The Bolshevik conception can quite clearly see that Soviet power did not involve actual appropriation by the bourgeoisie. They did not propose any measures to prevent the continuation of capitalist production.

The Bolsheviks argued a state-owned or directly capitalist, "state capitalism" in Lenin's words, arrived at by such measures as the nationalisation of the banks. However, this strategy collapsed rapidly before the introduction of "war communism". In many places the employers simply fled, in others they were summarily disposed. Repeated Soviet decrees stating the need for



Anarchist banner in the Ukraine.
government approval of any expropriation went unheeded. The Bolsheviks could do little to curb this movement.

Mixed up with the question of whether or not the factory committees were the wider problem of what the best was to be for assessing and implementing economic objectives, and what role the factory committees were to play in these processes.

In the space of a few months, therefore, the skeleton of a planning system was erected which gave exceedingly little scope to the initiative and innovation of the most active elements in the factory organisation. Decisions about economic priorities were to be increasingly taken by state committees connected with the working class and their committees not through any separate organisation based on the factory committees. It was not long after the October revolution that the centralisation of control, civil war, increased economic chaos and demobilisation began to threaten even the rigidities in place. The factory committees had fought for and won. (Some letter-day Leninists point to the economic chaos as an excuse for the failure of the revolution to proceed without central control. They could develop more than "petrolicious" interests when they were repeatedly being cut off

the ability to recognise that the class came above the individual factory, and the desire to be involved in the formulation of class wide objectives. From the first day the Bolsheviks opposed rather than encouraged this ability.

Kronstadt!

We can see, I hope, that there are, at least, steps to be further implemented in the direction of a more Russian means to sustain involvement in the revolutionary process. Although the Bolsheviks contributed to the circumstances where such activity could flourish, the people of Kronstadt were willing to fight for it, and eventually actively hindered it. What's more, still other features of the Russian Revolution could be considered in this light; were it not for lack of space.

The experience of Kronstadt is a well



PARTIRIDGE SHOOT! Red Army soldiers massacre the officers and members of the Kronstadt garrison. Through the firing the hope gun employment of the garrison's men to defend themselves against the possibility of White attack. The people of Kronstadt had insisted on carrying on partridging for their Soviet. Trotsky said in his testament to them: 'We will shoot them in their bellies.'

Libertarian Communist is generally left unexplained.)

Larin's Immediate Tasks of a Soviet Government gives, as early as April 1918, an indication of the difficulties he faced in coping with the problems. Among the measures he proposed were the introduction of piece-work, "Taylorian" systems of work organisation, and strict discipline, increasing the productivity of each worker, productivity bonuses and strict discipline. He wrote: "Unprecedented difficulties are encountered in the struggle for the success of labour processes that are based on large-scale machine production... today the Revolution stands in the international arena, and must make the masses unquestioningly obey the single will of the leaders of the labour process."

The paper also gives the opportunity to express itself on these matters through the Soviets. Where it did stand, though, through the factory committees, and later to a certain extent, through the Trade Unions, it showed both

"The young workers were the power of the revolution. The students began it, but when it developed they did not have the workers' or the ability to fight as hard as they did now workers."

An Anarchist Worker Special Supplement describes the events in the Soviet domination of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 as follows: "The Hungarian revolution of 1956 was a watershed in socialist history. Now after the Stalinist ice age which had gripped the working class movement for so long, came a thaw: a lot of people began to question the very nature of Communist Party ideology."

The paper will contribute to laying the basis for libertarian class-struggle politics.

SUBSCRIBE

- I would like to subscribe to LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST
- I would like more information about the LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST GROUP.
- If there is a tick in this box, your subscription runs out with this issue.

For 12 issues £3 UK and seafair abroad
£4 airmail
£5 all institutions

PLEASE USE BLOCK CAPITALS

Name
Address

Please make all cheques/POs payable to 'LCC General Fund' (abroad IMOs only) and send them to LCC, c/o 136 Kingsland High St., London E8. Bulk orders welcome.



Single copies 5p + post from AWA,
c/o 136 Kingsland High Street, London E8. Bulk orders welcome.

known example of how even after all the trials of the Civil War a section of the Russian fleet and proletariat could not only foresee for themselves some of the harmful aspects of the New Economic Policy but also raise some as their central demand the political one of free elections to the Soviets. For this they were miserably slandered and crushed by force of arms!

The experience of the Makhnovites in the Ukraine is a well known example of how the organisation of anti-capitalist regional autonomy was treated by a government pledged to minority rights of national self-determination. It was miserably slandered, double-crossed and crushed by force of arms!

Another interesting, but less well known area to investigate would be what happened to the soldiers' Soviets. It is a common apology of latter-day Leninists that the war disrupted Soviet democracy, yet this war also saw the development of a coherent army. What happened to Soviet democracy in that? Did it go out the door when Trotsky re-introduced many traditional features of military discipline?

Analysis

I should end with some indication of what the consequences of the above analysis are for revolutionaries. Revolutionaries in a revolutionary situation have a crucial responsibility to raise the question of power—the organisation of the masses for their own ends. We should seek, however, the construction of a united and democratic organisation of this power, and see this as



THE BUREACRACY: Stalin in 1929. By this time any idea about socialism had long been forgotten
the active force, rather than acting "on its behalf". We should not take a mandate from such an organisation to form a government, but rather fight for its own involvement in decision making.

We should be prepared for workers in struggle to throw up a plurality of organisations, and seek to develop these into a common unity, rather than stifle their development.
We must above all beware of those who may seek to refer uncritically to the Bolsheviks' record as a source of prescriptions in crisis.

At all times, whether in revolutionary struggle or in the political tasks we undertake in the present day, the beacon towards which we steer is the mass self-determination of labour.

FOR WORKERS SELF-MANAGEMENT
IN STRUGGLE AND OF SOCIETY!!!!

The revolution and civil war in Spain in 1936-1939 contained some of the greatest moments in the history of the European working-class.

It is important for libertarians to remember that the largest single organisation of the working-class in Spain was the CNT, the anarcho-syndicalist trade union.

Today, 40 years on, does the libertarian tradition have any importance in Spain?

The answer to that question must undoubtedly be yes. Despite being ignored by most of the revolutionary Left in Britain, the Libertarian movement has grown rapidly since the death of Franco. The CNT is growing rapidly, and now has perhaps as many as 30,000 members. As important, it seems to have learnt from the mistakes it made in the Civil War.

The Libertarian Spain Committee believes that solidarity work with Spanish libertarians is vital for us in Britain, and sees Spain as "the weak link in European capitalism."

Libertarian Spain, bulletin of the LSC, is available for 20p inc. postage, bundles of 5 for £1 cash with order, from LSC, 136 Burley Rd, Leeds 4. No 1, still available, covers the rebirth of the CNT, the June elections, economic and political background. No 2, available from January, covers recent developments, the counter-culture etc etc.

Libertarian Spain



Libertarian Communist

Special Supplement

10p



*Sketching the limits of
Trotsky*



Sketching the limits of Trotsky

This supplement is by no means an attempt to draw a balance sheet of either Trotsky's or Trotskyism's contribution to Marxist theory and to the international workers' movement. It is an attempt to provide a basis for such a balance sheet by examining three areas of problems raised by Trotsky's intervention in the course of the revolutions of this century and pleading Trotsky's views and contributions within them to give some indication of his theoretical contribution.

The areas examined are only schematically separated, they are: the role of the peasantry in the transition to socialism; the question of the relationship between socialist political organisation to calls struggle in pre- and post-revolutionary situations, i.e. "Party and Class"; and the nature of the Stalinist State, leading to the question of the class nature of the Soviet Union.

The absence of discussion concerning the theory of the "cultural revolution" stems not from a ready dismissal such as Gramsci's "nothing but a generalistic forecast presented as a dogma" (Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, p. 241), but from the view that the examination of the role of the peasantry should be left to the assault of the Stalinist State, and of its rival - national democratic revolution in its various, Menshevik and Stalinist incarnations (though arguably not Lenin's discarded theory of the

In universal history, the actions of men have results which differ from what they plan and achieve, from their immediate knowledge and intentions. They achieve their aims, but there is produced at the same time something hidden within them, which their consciousness was not aware of and which was not included in their calculations.

(quoted in Fernando Claudin, *The Communist Movement*, Penguin, 1975)

"revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasants".

Trotsky's theory of combined and uneven development of capitalism in Russia (1) of the impossibilities for a colonial bourgeoisie to create an economy capable of competing with the West (2), and therefore of the only possible route to socialism (3) is very graphic and persuasive. The usefulness of this theory can considerably affect by his view that the peasantry could only act as the subordinates of the bourgeoisie or of the proletariat. From this view, Trotsky's theory of the middle 50%, collectivisation being accomplished (4).

The theory of the "cultural revolution" of collectivisation achieving higher levels of productivity without the existence of a technological basis proper to it (which this theory does not consider) - "mutual aid" or possibly the introduction of further division of labour) and on the basis of a seemingly voluntary mass movement of the

anti-Populist "Our Differences".

There was, therefore, some support from Marx and Engels for the Populist view that rural capitalism might provide the basis for a transition to socialism without overthrowing capitalism altogether. The founding struggle of the movement which was to become Russian Social Democracy was to reconcile the reality and inevitability of capitalist development in Russia (8). In 1894 Engels had argued that the pace of capitalist development in Russia made developments based on the rural commune impossible as that institution was rapidly becoming unviable.

It was in the light of the concept of combined and uneven development that Vera Zasulich questioned Marx in 1881 on "the theory that insists that all the people of the world should be forced by historical necessity to go through all the stages of social production...". Marx's answer was that the theory of this timeliness is expressly restricted to the countries of Western Europe. "In 1882, in a new pamphlet entitled 'The Russian Revolution and the Manifesto', Marx and Engels said 'We want Russia today forms the vanguard of revolutionary action in Europe...—and that is why we must now do our best to serve as the starting point for a communist development'".

Even a few years later, in a letter to Zasulich, Engels gave a cool reception to Plekhanov's

general premise of all social democrats in Russia prior to 1917 was that a bourgeois revolution was necessary and "inevitable—the question of the form in which it would be led by the bourgeoisie and whether its limits were prescribed by a period of inevitable bourgeois democratic rule, as Trotsky



the revolution; 'the mere characterisation of the (fusian) revolution as bourgeois fails us nothing about the character of its internal development' (ibid., p. 19). The peasant revolution, Patafistisch, 1969

The suppression of the rebellion of the Baltic garrison at Kronstadt in 1921 is explained by Trotsky, reflecting his 'backward' peasant tendency to 'revolutionary discipline': 'A peasant — that is a movement, characteristic of the town of bourgeois development — and a proletarian insurrection, the movement signifying its decline.'

The Third International Atta! Lenin, 1936:
"It will be neither leading nor independent.
The poor peasants of Hupei, Kuanwang or
Sengai can play a role, not only on a national
but on an international scale, but only as
part of the Chinese revolution in Canton,
Nanking and Calcutta" (p. 226). Further to this,
the Chinese peasantry was "even less capable
of playing a leading role than the Russian" (p. 184).

Trotsky's policy and playing no role in rebellion. He does argue that the sailors
Lanin called "the flower of the revolution"
during 1917 had been dispersed after the
revolution, but he also claims that they
had become this kind since 1927 when
"Kronstadt Communists" by 1927 when
those involved and established the con-
Trotsky seeks to abolish.

Discussing the Spanish Revolution Trotsky hardly mentions the peasantry. When he does his programme is limited to that of the first stage of the revolution, 'the land to the tillers' (7). As was known by 1917, the revolution in the countryside had already extended far beyond this (8).

These points are more than a repetition of

the festival discussions of '32 or '33 Trotsky underlines the peasantry's 'present' (9) or 'Trotzky's present' (10) as the 'most important factor' (11) in the struggle against the kulaks. The party leaders, too, despite their slogan of 'solidarity with the peasants', were in the Bolshevik party leadership was independent in viewing the peasantry as incapable of independently initiating the revolution. In the period of the peasant bourgeois revolution, in the strength of the kulak, the party leaders were unable to see the 'present' in the peasant movement. The 'present' existed in the 'kulak under the socialist slogan' (12). Joint Opposition Platform Summer Conference, 1930. The 'present' in the sense that in Trotsky's discussion of the present 'peasant' and 'counterrevolutionary' become inter-

The alliance with, and subsequent betrayal of, the Marxist parties present in the Soviet Union was first articulated by Trotsky in 1923 (11) as being due to the Machinists being 'Kulak cavalry', i.e. they were rich, they were kulaks, they were counterrevolutionary cavalry. There is a fine irony here, given that the heart of the Bolshevik revolution was the industrial working-class, which, in 1923, was the Red Army Southern Front commanded by Frunze was to turn overnight against its allies. The previous year, Trotsky had managed to eliminate the Machinists despite Wrangel's best efforts to undermine them.

in the 1920s is obvious in the light of latter developments. This is particularly so on the question of the rôle of the kulak階級 in agriculture in the 'kulak chief' or its counterpart 'riding on the peasant's back' both ignored the basic fact of soviet agriculture — as Medvedev (*Last History Judge*) and Nove (*Economic History of the USSR*) illustrate, the basic problem was a huge subsistence economy which grew throughout the period. Only between 1926-1928 did 21% (Medvedev) or 25% (Nove) of the population live in urban centres. This proportion is a source of bitter argument over the importance (or otherwise) of the kulaks) changed very little over the period whilst the number of peasants' holding steadily grew from 23 million in 1924 to 25 million in 1927 (Nove p. 106, 110; Medvedev p. 73).

That the Chinese revolution and the subsequent peasant upsurge were not the result of either the possibility of other estimations of the peasantry and its capacity does not merely, however, mean that they were not possible. Such hindsight was not available to the Maoists or the Kronstadt revolutionaries. It was not available to the Chinese communists either. The Chinese communists were revolutionaries after all, yet in "Letters to a Frenchman" [in Maxim] — Political thought and practice in the Chinese revolution — a programme of mobilisation through mutual aid teams, radicalised through peasant associations, propaganda by means of barter and exchange trade with the urban areas, and careful structures against encouraging the individualism of the peasantry and pushing them into the market economy, were proposed. This is typical of the peasant based national liberation struggles since the Chinese revolution (Vietnam, Angola, etc.). The Chinese communists' peasant associations are found to be profoundly reactionary.

Lenin had argued the need for a democratic centralism by which the conditions of development in Russia were the conditions of Marxist inspiration; and the origins of revolutionary theory outside the working class, among the intelligentsia. Trotsky had originally sided with the Mensheviks in opposition to Lenin's views as expounded in *What Is To Be Done?* and fought for the Mensheviks in 1903. His article 'The Party Tasks' (1904) argued that the logic of Lenin's conception was that the Party needs to take the place of the class, the Central Committee of the Party and the leader that of the Central Committee. This view affected Nikolai Chkheidze (Col. Wet. 1904 p. 317), cited in *The Russian Revolution on Trial* (London, 1945), p. 45, 'everything will in the last resort resolve around one man who "exponents" will unite all the powers in

The Trotsky regarded his opposition to Lenin on this as the greatest mistake of his life as evidenced not only by his later admission but also by the fact that during his lifetime he never gave permission for "Our Political Tasks" to be reprinted. Whatever the subtleties and changed amorphes of Lenin's political thought, Trotsky, who continued the Bolshevik tradition of his successors, tended to conflate the Party and the proletariat, e.g. On Compromises: "Our Party, like any political party, is striving after political domination for itself. Our aim is the

dictatorship of the revolution proletariat'. Left Wing Communism: The mere presentation of the question 'dictatorship of the Party or dictatorship of the class' testifies to the most incredibly and hopelessly muddled thinking . . . It is common knowledge . . . that as a rule end in most cases . . . classes are led by political parties'.

In dealing with the movements we have earlier mentioned (Makhno, Kronstadt) the Lenin Comintern has been unable to take action as a socialist party and the exercise of power by the Bolshevik Party, as actually being the dictatorship of the proletariat, has been upheld. The rôle of the working class to carry to Central Committee is clearly outlined in Trotsky's report to the Second Congress of the Comintern. Today we have received from the Polish Government proposals for the conclusion of peace. (Should this decide us?) We have Soviet Commissars in Poland, i.e., the government supposedly drawing its legitimacy from the Soviets) but it must be subject to certain control. What control? The Comintern has no right to interfere in the chaotic matter. No! The central committee of the Party has been called together to discuss the proposal and to decide whether to answer it.



Photographs co

Libertarian Communist supplements

Hungary



Hungary 1917 — The Hungarian Revolution of 1917 was an event of importance to socialists: it showed that the revolution was possible in Eastern Europe.

Russia



Russia 1917 describes and analyses an important moment in the history of the working classes.

It examines the economic background to the revolution and the political situation in Europe as a whole. It tries to understand how and why the Bolshevik party became increasingly unresponsive to the real needs of the working class.

Democracy

Socialism and Democracy — one of the most important questions concerning revolution is: can we argue that a democratic socialist society must be fought for using democratic means?



Spain

Spain 1936 — a description of the Spanish revolution, the collectives, and how the working class was betrayed by the Stalinists.

All supplements price 10p
+post from LCG,
27 Clerkenwell Close,
London EC1

the arguments of the 'bureaucratic collectivists'. "the further decay of monopoly capitalism, its further fusion with the state and the replacement of democracy wherever it still remained by a totalitarian regime. The inability of the proletariat to take into its hands the leadership of society could actually lead under these conditions to the growth of a new exploiting class from the Bonapartist fascist bureaucracy". (p.18 has a similar view). Trotsky adopts this simple dichotomy workers state/revolution or decay/a new class society as a means to undermine the arguments of the 'bureaucratic collectivists' (principally Rizzi). But his posing of simple choices as in this case and in the latter view that the war could only mean revolution or the restoration of capitalism act only to obscure any real discussion on the nature of the bureaucracy which for him is purely a transitory, parasitic growth produced by the backwardness of the Russian economy and the failure of the world's working class. At such a level of generalisation there is a specific nature of the bureaucratisation a small question.

Trotsky's generalisations stand in the way of more precise considerations of the formations and categories he considers. This applies to his central concept that socialism is nationalised property relations. The concept is totally ahistorical, corporate/state forms of property abound throughout history (Roman Armoury manufacturers; the properties of the medieval church; or the 'colonising' military orders eg. Teutonic Knights in East Prussia, Lithuania, Poland; to the present 'mixed economies' with varying 'nationalised' contents.) What distinguishes the various examples are specific social relations and relations of production proper to each.

Trotsky's emphasis on the legal relations and on the 'transitory' nature of the bureaucratic superstructure of the Soviet Union ignores the totality of its class relations; the lack of self-management of the producers; the system of hierarchy, one man management; the contrast between privilege and piece rate (see Harazzi, *A Worker in a Workers State*, Penguin). It is simply to turn historical materialism on its head to seek an explanation at the level of legal relations or in the functioning of the state superstructure alone.

The limits of Trotsky's critique of the USSR are today being demonstrated by their reappearance in the work of modern 'autonomists' where they serve to separate the authors from the bureaucracy without fundamentally challenging it as anything more than a deviation or 'degeneration' forced by circumstances. Mandel's criticisms of this school, particularly Ellenstein, in From Stalinism to Eurocommunism, can be applied quite closely to Trotsky himself (see espec. Ch.4 A New Approach to Stalinism.)

In order to maintain its position as a revolutionary opponent of the soviet bureaucracy Trotskyism has had to create distance between itself and Trotsky. This is nowhere clearer than in the Theses on Socialist Democracy (which if anything tends too far towards pluralism) of the

USFI, and in Mandel's substitution of the phrase 'society in transition' for 'workers state' (particularly marked in From Stalinism . . .) This evolution is a symptom of Trotsky's weakness on the problems of Party and class and on Stalinism and the class nature of the USSR.

Footnotes.

1. *Third International After Lenin* p.19 "Capitalist structures the entire world economy and it operates by its own methods", that is to say by anarchistic methods which constantly undermine its own work, set one country against another and one branch of industry against another, developing some parts of the world economy while throwing back the development of others."
2. *Revolution Betrayed* p.5. "In the conditions of capitalist decline, backward countries are unable to attain that level which the old centres of capitalism have attained. Having themselves arrived in a blind alley, the highly civilised nations block the road to those in the process of civilisation. Russia took the road of proletarian revolution not because her economy was the first to become ripe for a socialist change, but because she could not develop further on a capitalist basis."
3. *Revolution Betrayed* p.11. "Socialisation of the means of production had become a necessary condition for bringing the country out of barbarism."
4. *Deutscher Prophet Armed*. p.96. E.H.Carr *Foundations of a Planned Economy* Vol.1 p.283.
5. *Standard* in marxist-leninist work but also common in Trotskyists eg. Livo Maitan, Party, Army and Masses in China, NLR.
6. Plekhanov, *In Defence of Materialism* (titled for the Censor On the Question of the development of the Monist View of History) 1892/3, P.B.Struve, *Original Notes on the Problem of the Economic Development of Russia*, 1894; Lenin, *Development of Capitalism in Russia* (written 1896 published 1899).
7. Penguin, *The Young Lenin*, p.85.
- 7a. *The Spanish Revolution* (1937-39), Pathfinder 1973, pp.251, 252, 321.
8. Gaston Leval, *Collectives in the Spanish Revolution*; Sam Dolgoff, *The Anarchist Collectives*; F. Mintz, *Autogestion dans l'Espagne Révolutionnaire*.
9. Carr, *The Interregnum* p.23-4, 317.
10. Carr, *FPE* vol.1 p.29.
11. Writings of Leon Trotsky 1937-38, Pathfinder, Letter to Wendelin Thomas.
12. Arshinov, *History of the Makhnovist Movement*, Black and Red, Detroit, 1975, p.265-275, Makhnovist proclamations.
13. Arshinov, see above. Voline, *The Unknown Revolution*, Black and Red, Detroit, 1974. Avrich, *Kronstadt 1921*, and also *The Russian Anarchists*.
14. Voline, p.473-5.